THE STORY OF NEWCASTLE-EMLYN AND ATPAR

TO 1531

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Frontispiece.

Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar: General View, taken from near Aberarad.

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Cymmrodorion Society's Publications.

THE STORY OF NEWCASTLE EMLYN AND ATPAR TO 1531, WITH A CONCLUDING SURVEY.

BY

THE REV. GRUFFYDD EVANS, B.D.,

Vicar of Newcastle Emlyn.

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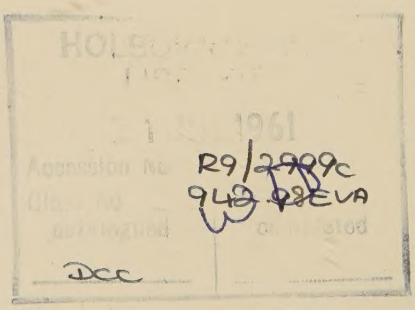
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PREFATORY NOTE.

The Prince of Wales, speaking a short time ago at one of the annual meetings of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, said that it was the duty and the pleasure of the members of the Society, to assist in the systematic study and research of national lore in relation to the history, literature and archæology of Wales. From time to time, His Royal Highness went on to say, buried treasures come to light, and local survivals help to transport our imagination from the trials and troubles of modern life, to the peaceful study of the strifes and problems of the distant past.

Amongst those who carefully investigate "local survivals", and search them out, with the view of ascertaining what information they afford, and what light they can throw, not only on local characteristics but on the wider aspects of national life and history, the Rev. Gruffydd Evans, a member of our Society, and the author of this volume, has rendered very conspicuous and valuable service. Ten years ago the Cymmrodorion were the means of publishing, in a substantial volume of over two hundred pages, his "Story of the Ancient Churches of Llandovery", an interesting and comprehensive summary of the traditions, the history and the archæology of a Carmarthenshire district in which for many years he had diligently laboured as one of the clergy. In 1908 he was appointed Vicar of Kidwelly in the same county, and here again in the scant leisure time of a busy parish priest, much engaged in the material and spiritual work of his Church, he collected a vast amount of local material of

great value, some of which he embodied for the benefit of this Society in an article entitled "Carmarthenshire Gleanings" (see *Y Cymmrodor*, 1915, vol. xxv).

On the 31st December, 1913, he became Vicar of Newcastle Emlyn again in the same county, and with the insatiable thirst of the born collector of out of the way knowledge, he has from popular beliefs and customs, and from the contents of private and public archives, contrived to weave an enchanting tale of the "Castle in Emelyn", the borough of the New Town, and the neighbouring borough of Atpar.

And once again the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion are pleased to be the means of publishing the results of Mr. Evans' labours; and in commending his work to lovers of Wales and its storied past, they venture to hope that his example will be followed by many others, so that with the aid of local gleanings the general garner of historical and archæological knowledge may be largely increased.

E. Vincent Evans,
Honorary Secretary and Editor
of the Society's Publications.

London. St. David's Day, 1923.

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By the REV. GRUFFYDD EVANS, B.D.,

Vicar of Newcastle-Emlyn.

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FOREWORD.

At the mouth of the river Teifi, which separates Cardiganshire from the County of Pembroke and Carmarthenshire, are situated two ancient and historic towns. On the left bank and in the Lordship Marcher of Cemeis is the town of St. Dogmael's with the remains of its once flourishing Abbey[1]; on the right bank is the better known town of Aberteifi or Cardigan with its sites of Dingeraint, Nor-

[1] A good deal of information about the domestic life of this Abbey and also of Cardigan Priory will be found in the *Episcopal Registers of St. Davids*, Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 6. For the general history, see *Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at St. Dogmael's*, by H. M. Vaughan, *Cymmrodor*, xxvii, 1-25. Also E. M. Pritchard's *St. Dogmael's*, and *History of Cardigan Priory*.

man Castle, Priory, and also the interesting fifteenth century chancel of the parish church of St. Mary. About ten miles higher up the Dyffryn of the Teifi, and right on the river's edge stand two other mediæval towns, Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar,—the former on a bank which thrusts itself across the lowland and around which the river winds in three graceful curves; the latter on the sharp ascent leading along Bryndiodde[1] to the uplands of South Cardiganshire. Between these little towns the placid river bursts into sudden energy, and tumbling with a roar over the *dreiva*[2] and the salmon-leap rushes alongside the castle mound and under the town bridge to run in three "bruces"[3] into the great pool called Pwll Dafi William, whence it emerges to flow nearly in a direct course back to the other side of the valley. The river accentuates the fact that the two towns belong to different lordships as well as different counties; but the bridge, which literally joins their buildings together, symbolises another fact, viz., that spite of their physical and political separation, they are most closely related in their social and economic life. Though they have long lost the right to the name and the privileges connoted by the name, historically they are boroughs; never it is true endowed with charters of incorporation, but still boroughs, created in the one case by a "grant of our lord the Prince" and

[2] This place-name does not appear in any of the local records examined by the present writer. Sir John Rhys, it seems, once suggested that its original form may have been Bryngoddeu. *Goddeu*= unreclaimed waste, forest land (Sir J. Morris Jones, in *Cymmrodor*, xxviii, 28, note). The Bryn is quite near the mediæval forest and the farm names Cwr y Coed and Y Fforest still survive.

[3] The dreiva is a dam which turns the waters into what was formerly a mill-leet. This mill, now converted into an electric power-station, was not the mediæval mill: that was at the mouth of the Arad.

[4] From the dreiva to the bridge where the river normally flows along a rocky channel, the runs are known as *ffrydiau*—Ffrwd wen, Ffrwd wen ganol, etc.; from the bridge to the Pwll where the streams run over *gro* they are called *brws or bryws*—Y Brws fach, y Brws ganol, Y Brws. Another example of the word is found in Cilgerran. Below the castle where the Plyscog joins the Teifi, a sandbank (Y (G)raean) appears during low water. The main stream flows to the right of this bank; the shallows on the left running over *gro* are called by the older people Y Bryws, by the younger, Y Prince—an example of how popular attempts at derivation create legends. If William Owen Pughe's *prws* is accepted the word may represent the exact opposite of ffrwd, viz., the spreading-out, and therefore, shallow-running water.

To face p. 4.

Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar: River Teifi, Pwll Dafi William, and the "Briwses" in flood.

in the other by a grant of the overlord, the Bishop of St. Davids.

The purpose of this essay is to tell the story of these two little towns to the year 1531, as far as the writer can ascertain it, and as it is impossible to tell the story of the towns apart from the larger history of the district in which they are situated a great deal of what may be considered extraneous matter must be introduced,—enough in fact to constitute an outline of the history of the Commote of Emlyn uwch Cuch. Dearth of material relating to the towns has made it difficult to carry the work nearer our own time than 1531, although a Concluding Survey will suggest the lines along which further enquiry might proceed. Until the contents of the Stackpole Archives are collated and published, it will be futile to attempt dealing with the Tudor and the Stuart Periods in a way other than is done in the text and notes of this essay. All the records of the Borough of Atpar perished in a destructive fire about 1752; but the material still preserved in the well-ordered Cilgwyn Archives will do much to cover the history of that town during the eighteenth century and somewhat earlier.

The present writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to those named in the notes scattered throughout the work; to Mr. C. H. Ll. Fitzwilliams, of Cilgwyn, for permission to examine the Estate Records; to Dr. T. W. W. Powell, Atpar; Dr. D. G. Lloyd, Glyn Nest; Mr. D. Roy Evans and Messrs. D. and E. George, solicitors, for permission to consult books, indentures and various papers; to the Rev. T. D. Thomas, B.A., formerly Vicar of Llangorwen, now of Llanllwch, for copying documents at the National Library; to his own sister, Miss Evans, for work done on his behalf at the Swansea Public Library; to the authorities of that Library as well as to those of the National Library and of the Library at St. David's College, Lampeter; above all to Sir John Williams, Bart., G.C.V.O., who generously allowed him to make use of his valuable collection of original material relating to the New castle of Emlyn.

"'Tis enough for me to have broken the ice; and I have gained my ends if I have set others about the same work, whether it be to write more or amend what I have written." (Preface to Camden's *Britannia*.)

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

Conjectures about the origin of the name Emlyn[1] have led to the supposition that one of our towns occupies the site of a Roman Station; but, though it is alleged that Roman remains have been found in the neighbouring parish of Penboyr[2], no competent authority has reported the discovery of any vestiges of a Roman road or station, of pottery or coins in the vicinity of Atpar and Newcastle Emlyn. The finding of a Greek coin[3] of the first century B.C. near the site of the Castle bake-house does not in any

[1] The popular derivations of this place-name are based upon the assumption that it arose in connection with either a British din or a Roman Station on the site of the castle, that this was called Emlyn and that the name gradually spread itself over the district. The indefatigable "Gwynionydd" in his *Hanes Castellnewydd yn Emlyn* (5-6) gives a collection of theories as to the origin of the name itself. Three of these may be referred to here:—(i) *Elmin* (elms) because this was the site of Loventium, a word deriving from the root of llwyfen (elm). (ii) Ymlyn (cf. ynglyn and englyn) which is generally accepted even now by the "more intelligent". (iii) From the fancy that the river in its windings forms the letter M—an explanation as old as the time of E. Lhuyd, for he dissents from it (*Parochialia, Arch. Camb.* Supplement, iii, 75). A glance at the map will show the absurdity of this suggestion, and will confirm the perfect description in *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, p. 220,—"The course of the river at this point is that of the reversed letter S—thus ƨ". The present writer has failed to discover a place-name in the Cantref which would assist in deciding the spot to which the name Emlyn was first given. The earliest historical references connect it with the uplands of the Commote of Is Cuch. Thus in the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 56, 62, 124, 255, Lann teliau Cilretin is en emelinn, inemblin, inemlinn. The *De Situ*, supposed to be a thirteenth century copy of an eleventh century document, has "Clydei filia Brachan est in Emelin" (*Cymmrodor*, xix, 18-27.) In the documents relating to both Cilgerran and Emlyn uwch Cuch the name is generally Emelin in the fourteenth century. The topographical writers usually quote Lhuyd's suggestion that the name derives from Emilinus, and this "Roman" is connected with the site of the New castle The writer of the notes in *Arch. Camb.*, iii, v, 346-7 refers to the Œmilinus stone in Pool Park, Denbighshire, removed thence from Bedd Emlyn. The name does not occur in the lists given in *Cymmrodor*, ix, 152-183, xxi, 105, xxiv, 80-5. Possibly one of the Northerners who settled in these parts during the Cunedda period bore the name and the name of his stronghold got extended over the whole Cantref which was under his sway. (Cf. Marianus, Merium, after whom Meirionydd is called.) It may be suggested that the stronghold was on the uplands above Cwm Cuch. Established here it would be the natural centre of an extension towards Llangeler, Cilgerran and Llanfyrnach. As is evidenced by the "Dyfed" branches of the Mabinogi, the region of the Cuch was something more than a Goedelic play-ground long before the

way justify the idea that it was brought there during the Roman occupation of Britain. Lead mines were apparently worked in the parish of Cenarth in the sixteenth century[4], but there is no evidence that the men of the Roman period knew aught about the existence of lead in the district, and there are no traces of other mines in the neighbourhood, neither is there a single reference to them in any of the records. It would seem that this part of the Teifi Valley did not lie in the line of the activities of Roman soldiers or merchants[5].

coming of the Brythons into these parts. The inclusion and the retention of Llanfyrnach in the Cantref of Emlyn can be explained if the early centre of the Cantref was near Cwm Cuch, say, in the Parish of Clydey (see note, p. 78). The Brythonic invader probably seized and enlarged a small Goidelic stronghold in this locality.

[2] The well-written *Hanes Plwyfi Llangeler a Phenboyr*, by D. E. Jones (pp. 50-1, 55) notes about six discoveries of "Roman remains" in these parishes; but the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, merely refers to Lewis' *Top. Dict.* and the pot of gold coins said to have been discovered near Penboyr Church in 1833. Apparently no Roman remains have been discovered in the parish of Cenarth. Penboyr appears in the mediæval records as Penbeir. Beir as a possible archaic plural of bar (Cf. Nant Bargod in the parish) would well represent the natural features of the locality. With Penbeir, Penboyr cf. Tre Drëyr, Trefdroyer (*Liber Regis*) now Troedyraur.

[3] Some 18 to 20 years ago, the mound over the ruins of the bakehouse collapsed suddenly, and part of the rubbish fell into the leet only a few feet away. In the rubbish fallen into the water, Mr. Phil Lewis, Blue Bell, then a boy, found a Greek silver coin. Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, of the National Museum of Wales, having examined a rubbing of the coin, now in the possession of Mrs. James, Tirdre, Newcastle Emlyn, describes it thus:—"The coin of which you send a rubbing is apparently a tetradrachm of Thasos in Thrace and probably dates from the first half of the first century B.C. It bears on the obverse a head of Dionysus wreathed, and on the reverse ΗΡΑΚΛΗΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Herakles standing. In exergue ΘΑΣΙΩΝ. The weight of the coin should be about 260-263 grains". Another coin found in Newcastle Emlyn (now in the possession of Col. Fitzwilliams) is a large sized copper coin of one ore (Charles XI Sweden) dated 1669.

[4] Letters and Papers, 30 H. VIII, 1542. Vol. xiii, No. 1154.

[5] "The Goidels of Dyved . . . . were practically left alone by the Romans", Prof. Gruffydd's *Mabinogion, Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1912-3, p. 39. There are no known Roman roads west of Carmarthen—Llanio, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1920-21, map p. 41.

Had the Romans of, say, the third century of our era visited the hill-country overlooking what is now Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar, they would probably have found themselves among a hybrid population—the offspring of intermarriages between the Iberians and the Goidels[1], who occupied the uplands traversed, for instance, by the road from Pen-yr-herber to Cynwil-Elfet. The various mounds and meini hirion[2] seen on this highland are probably the works of these early people, and the dinas[3] on Penbuarth Farm just above the left "horn" of the Arad[4] stream in Carmarthenshire, and the dinas[5] on the ridge above Cwmdu Ceri in Cardiganshire represent the sites of their protected enclosures or towns. Wherever the "Dinas Emlyn" of Sir Walter Scott's "Dying Bard"[6] may have been situated, we can be sure that it was not on the site of the Castle, as is popularly believed. The dinas names just mentioned indicate the nearest approach to the valley of the Teifi made by the early permanent settlements in this part of the country.

Sometime before the end of the fifth century Brythonic communities had established themselves in the *dyffryn* right on the banks of the river, as is evidenced by the early Christian foundations of Llandyssul, Bangor Teifi, Henllan, Llandyfriog on the Cardiganshire side, and of Cenarth, Maenordeifi and Cilgerran on the other side. These ancient churches took their names from the saint by whose direct efforts or through whose influence they

[1] The Goidels were the dominant power in Pembrokeshire at a later period. The patron saints of Llanfyrnach and Clydey were of the Brychan family—Goidels.

[2] Excluding the mound in Cenarth, there are no fewer than fifteen tumuli and seven meini hirion in Emlyn uwch Cuch. The uplands of Penboyr and Llangeler form part of a large district which has about thirty earthworks. *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire.*

[3] The occupants of the farm speak of Ca gwair y ddinas.

[4] A tributary of the Teifi forming the boundary between the parish of Penboyr and the old parish of Cenarth. The aber is near the G.W.R. Station. The large brook, for it is nothing more, evidently takes its name from the long-handled plough, the form of which it resembles. The mediæval corn mill was situated at the aber. *Min. Acc.*, 1423-4. 1166/12.

[5] This figures in Allen Raine's *Heart of Wales*; or rather an imaginary mediæval castle on the site. The present farm takes its name from the dinas.

[6] "Gwynionydd" gives a Welsh version in his *Hanes*, pp. 18, 19—"Y Bardd yn marw."—"Din Emlyn galara, mae'r eiliad gerllaw."

were first founded, and it is significant that the parish churches of Penboyr, Cenarth and Cilgerran are "dedicated" to the same saint, viz., Llawddog, the son of Dingat ap Nudd Hael, and the brother of the saints who gave their names to Llandyfriog and Llandygwydd[1]. These facts read in the light of what is known about the history of these very early Christian foundations[2] suggest that from the fifth century the dominant tribes in the lower Teifi Valley were Brythons,—the descendants of the northerner Nudd Hael,—who settled here during the great movement associated with the name of Cunedda Wledig.

Not long after these Brythonic tribes became fairly settled, the country was divided for administrative and fiscal purposes into Commotes and Cantrefs[3]. Thus the large tract which stretches from the upper confines of the parish of Llangeler to the lower reaches of the parish of Cilgerran, and back from the Teifi to Llanfyrnach became the Cantref of Emlyn embracing the two Commotes of Emlyn is Cuch and Emlyn uwch Cuch[4]. Whatever the origin and meaning of the name Emlyn, it was never applied to lands on the right side of the river Teifi. Atpar is not in the Cantref of Emlyn, but in that of Iscoed and in that part of it known as Gwynionydd-Iscoed[5]. It

[1] According to Rees' *Welsh Saints:* Tyssul lived during the period 500-542, and Llawddog, Tygwydd, Tyfriog, 566-600.

[2] Introduction to Baring Gould and Fisher's *Lives of the British Saints.* Wade Evans' *Mediæval Welsh Laws,* p. 343.

[3] The process may have been of long growth, but was systematised and perfected by the Dyfnwal Moelmud of the Cunedda Period. (*Welsh People,* pp. 130-131.)

[4] The Rural Deanery of Emlyn is coterminous with the Cantref.

[5] No one in this neighbourhood would think of the parishes of Troedyraur, Llanfair Treligen and Llandyfriog as being in a Commote other than Gwynionydd or Gwinionydd. But the map in Lloyd's *History of Wales,* vol. ii, places these parishes in Iscoed and makes the Gwylan to be the boundary line between Iscoed and Gwynionydd. In response to a letter of enquiry, Dr. Lloyd kindly furnished the following evidence:—(i) Tryfriog, the patron of Llandyfriog, is said in the *Bonedd* to be "yng Ngheredigion Iscoed" (*Myvyr. Arch. (Denbigh),* p. 431). (ii) Lewis Glyn Cothi calls Hywel ap Dafydd of Gwernan in the parish of Troedyraur (*recte* Tre Drëyr) "Dervel Iscoed" (p. 216). To this evidence may be added from the Episcopal Registers:—On February 19th, 1408, John. Earl of Somerset, Lord of Yscoyt, and on June 2nd, 1488, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Lady of Iscoed, each presented a clergyman to the parish of Tref-dreir. In the light of the evidence adduced by Dr. Lloyd, these

would help in many ways did we know when the llan of the saint became the church of a well-defined parish. The formation of the parish is closely connected with the extension, or it may be, the contraction of the area of land occupied by a family group or groups, that is, the ancient maenors. Thus the ancient parishes in Emlyn, especially those in Uwch Cuch, which have been less disturbed than those in Is Cuch, may have assumed their present proportions before the formation of the Commotes. Newcastle Emlyn lies in the upper part of the old parish of Cenarth[1] where it meers on the parishes of Penboyr and East Cilrhedyn. For many centuries, Atpar has formed part of the parish of Llandyfriog, to which it must have belonged originally, but, as will be shown further on, it was regarded as part of another parish during the fourteenth century—a legal and not a natural arrangement.

Well-attested history of the Cantref of Emlyn begins with the incoming of the Normans in the twelfth century. The Cantref was seized at a comparatively early date

entries in the Episcopal Registers mean more than that the Lord or the Lady of Iscoed was the patron of Troedyraur. Now Gwynionydd is divided into (i) Gwynionydd Uwch Cerdin ("Manner de Gwinionydh Ywch Cerdin": Court Roll, 2 May, 1711) and (ii) Gwynionydd is Cerdin ("Sir Thomas ap Eynon to Llangwnllo in Iskerden": *Episcopal Registers*, 7 Jan., 1399). There was however, another Gwynionydd,—in the Cantref of Iscoed, and known as Gwynionydd-Iscoed. The Court Roll was lost a few years ago and may yet be found. The chief-rents were owned by the Brigstocke family. The late Mr. W. George, solicitor, Newcastle Emlyn, was the steward; his son, Mr. D. George, and his head clerk, Mr. Gibbon, sometimes acted for the steward, and they are perfectly clear about the title of the lordship—Gwynionydd-Iscoed.

[1] In what, after the passing of the Tudor Poor Law Acts, became known as the Hamlet of Emlyn, comprising the town and its lands, the demesne and Park Nest. The other hamlets were Cenarth, Gelligatti and Dolbryn (Par. Report 1832). The place-name Cenarth is generally derived from Cefn and Garth (Dent's Giraldus' *Itin.*, p. 105). (i) Now Cefncoed, the birthplace of Williams, Pantycelyn, appears as Kencoed and Cincoed; but Cefnarthan in the same district still retains the uncontracted cefn. From the earliest times the record-form Cenarth has cen, not cefn (*Liber Land.*, 255, 127[9]). (ii) Cen may mean *white* as in Cendefrion (*Cod. Dip.* 534), and Cenarth may therefore=the white garth. (iii) Sir John Rhys, however, says that Cenarth is a semi-Brythonic form of Penarth, the cen=Irish ceann=end, head; and garth=enclosure, yard, headland, separate portion of a hill; hence Cenarth=an enclosed or fortified eminence (*Arch. Camb.*, v. 45, 22-3). The garth without doubt is that whereon stand the church, the schoolroom, and the vicarage.

(1110-1115) by the invaders from Pembroke under Gerald of Windsor[1]. There can be little doubt that Gerald's men penetrated as far as what afterwards became Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar. They found it expedient, however, to build their stronghold in the lower Commote. Their hastily constructed fort was probably built on the garth near Cilgerran, then known as Cenarth Bychan[2]. After securing the whole Cantref and consolidating their interests therein, the conquerors erected a permanent castle on the rock of Cilgerran, and after this date the name Cenarth Bychan disappears, and its place is taken naturally by the name "The Castle of Cilgerran". Confusion often arises in reading the records relating to Emlyn during the Mediæval Period. Soon after the Normans got possession of the Cantref of Emlyn, Cilgerran Castle became its administrative centre. About 125 years later, the two Commotes drifted into the hands of different lords. The "Newcastle in Emlyn" then became the centre of the Commote above the Cuch, the sway of Cilgerran being restricted to the Commote below the Cuch. Before the erection of the "Newcastle" the phrase "Emlyn and its castle" can only mean the Cantref of Emlyn and Cilgerran Castle; after the erection of the new stronghold, it has reference only to one or the other of the two Commotes; which of them has to be determined by the context and other considerations. Later on, "Emlyn" was more

[1] Lloyd's *Hist. of Wales*, ii, 425.

[2] Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 418, note 59 (Cf. *Arch. Camb.* v, 45, 23). Dr. Lloyd's identification of Cenarth Bychan with Cilgerran harmonises best with the story of the rape of Nest. There are however, other considerations. (i) In the claims of the Bishops of Landaff to certain churches in St. David's Diocese, Cenarth Mawr, Cenarth Bychan, and Llandeilo Cilrhedyn are named together as if they were churches in the same territorial division (*Cymmrodor* xi, Pt. ii, p. 132, Note 6, and the authorities cited there). (ii) There is a well-known garth near Cilgerran, also Cefn-coed-y-garth (Phillip's *Hist. of Cilgerran*, 142, 165, 256); also a Clungarth. The tradition is that a castell or amddiffynfa stood on the garth. In the records relating to the Lordship, the form of the name generally met with is Kilgaran, Kilgarran. (*Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7, vol. ii); Kilgaron in the *Episcopal Registers* (1495); Elygarthan in the Taxatio with Kilgarron on the dorse; Cylgerddan in Bacon's *Liber Regis*. It may be suggested that the brook name was Garthan, and that Cilgerran is only a disguised Cil-gar[th]an. The softening of the th in Garthan would easily lead to its elimination. The early Norman Conquerors possibly found a difficulty in pronouncing the spirants th, dh in this combination.

freely applied to the Upper Commote[1] and the Lower Commote was generally described as the Lordship of Cilgerran with its Manor of Emlyn.

CHAPTER I.

The Period of Preparation.

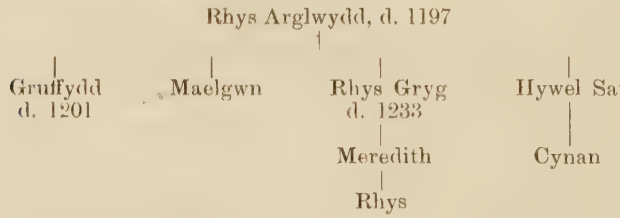
Events which led to the founding of the Towns.

(i) *The Cantref regained and lost by the Welsh Lords.*

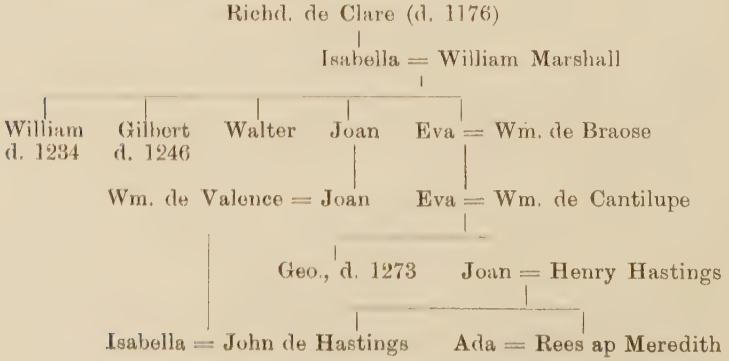
For about half-a-century (1115-1165) the Cantref remained in the undisturbed power of Gerald and his sons. Then came an abrupt change, and the next period is marked (1) by the recovery of Emlyn by the Welsh and (2) by the persistent efforts of the Earls of Pembroke (not the Carews) to make themselves masters of it. The strongest Welsh Prince in South Wales at the time was the celebrated Rhys Arglwydd, lord of Dinefor.[2] He and

[1] In the mouth of an ecclesiastic speaking of churches and parishes, Emlyn would still be a territory coterminous with the Cantref, that is, the Rural Deanery of Emlyn.

[2] Dinefor Pedigree.



(ii) Pembroke Pedigree.



his vigorous sons fought hard to retain the lands they held and to recover those won by the foreigners, especially in the Tywi and the Teifi Valleys. We are now, however, concerned with the story only in as far as it relates to Emlyn, and with what relates to Emlyn only in as far as it serves to explain the partition of the Cantref and the formation of the Lordship of Emlyn uwch Cuch.

In 1165 Rhys drove Robert FitzStephen out of Cardigan and William FitzGerald out of Cilgerran and Emlyn[1], and Henry II.'s policy dictated that the Welsh lord should keep the territories on doing homage for them. For over 30 years Emlyn enjoyed the blessings of peace, and on one occasion King Henry visited its castle at Cilgerran[2]; but immediately upon the death of Rhys in 1197 his sons and grandsons began to fight among themselves for his lands. It seems that Cilgerran was intended for Maelgwn, but Gruffydd seized it, and as the sympathy of the other Welsh lords was with the more popular Gruffydd, Maelgwn appealed to the King. He obtained a charter in 1199 and a confirmation of it in 1200[3]. Gruffydd was ousted and died in 1201, but another powerful claimant had already appeared upon the scene in the person of William Marshall of Pembroke. He, also, appealed to the King, but whilst his claim to Ystlwyf and Elfelffre was allowed, his claim to Emlyn had to stand over[4]. When misfortune overtook Maelgwn in 1204[5], William seized Cilgerran Castle, but failed to keep it. By the famous Partition of Aberdovey in 1216, the Confederacy of Welsh lords assigned Emlyn to Maelgwn, and there are proofs that he held it in 1220-1222[6]. Next year, however, William Marshall was strong enough to finally eject the Welsh lord, and the Cantref was given to a grandson of Rhys Arglwydd, viz., Cynan ap Howel Sais, who had rendered

[1] Most of the original notices in the Bruts, Annales, Rolls, etc., are found in *Cal. Cilgerran*, vol. ii, *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7; but as they are placed in their proper setting in Lloyd's *Hist.*, it will be more convenient to give the references in that work. Lloyd's *Wales*, ii, 519, 542.

[2] Phillips' *Cilgerran*, p. 85. Woodward's *Wales*, p. 445.

[3] Charter Roll, 1 Jno., pt. 3; Cal. 636; also Cal. 44, April 10, 1200. note 40.

[4] 16 April, 1200, Charter Roll; Cal. 47. Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 619, "Until we have delivered his land of Emelin to him."

[5] Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 619.

[6] Harl. MSS., 6280 f 80. Lloyd's *Hist.*, 663, note 47.

useful service in the King's army under the command of the Earl[1]. Cynan was lord of Emlyn until 1240, when he was deposed by Walter Marshall, brother to Earl Gilbert, for fighting contra pacem regis[2]. His estates, Emlyn amongst them, were forfeited, and in theory reverted to the Crown. But the King was far away and at that very time was busy with schemes for a war upon Louis IX. of France.

(ii) *The Partition of the Cantref.*

The Inquisitions[3] which record the subsequent course of events are somewhat perplexing in detail. The salient features of the story, however, are clear enough. Gilbert's ambition was to retain the whole of the Cantref as a complete lordship under the direct sway of Pembroke; and had he fully succeeded in his designs the entire Cantref would no doubt be in the County of Pembroke, and not partly in Pembroke and partly in Carmarthenshire as at present. The causes which frustrated the immediate realisation of his plans are somewhat obscure. There may have been present in his mind the fear that the Crown might lay claim to the whole Cantref on the grounds of its re-conquest by the royal forces. It is not improbable, also, that as soon as Cynan was displaced, Meredith ap Rhys Gryg, another of the grandsons of Rhys Arglwydd, seized the Upper Commote which bordered upon his own territory, and was thought strong enough to fight for it. To attempt to eject the Welsh lord meant calling the royal attention to the conflict and the causes of it, which was the very last thing that Gilbert wanted. Where Rhys Arglwydd had succeeded, his grandson also might succeed. It was better to keep one of the Commotes and if possible maintain suzerain rights over the other than lose both. The upshot was that an arrangement was arrived at between Gilbert and Meredith[4]. It would seem as if Meredith had made the first move, possibly because he desired to win Gilbert's niece as well as keep the Upper Com-

[1] Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 661. Woodward (p. 367) gives the details.
[2] Chancery I, Misc., File 47, No. 18; and Inquis. 27 Ed. I, No. 108. Phillips' *Cilgerran*, 240, and Lloyd's *Hist.*, ii, 661.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Lloyd's *Hist.* 710-1. Confirmed by royal grant in 1257: Charter Roll, 41 H. III; m, i; Cal. 475.

To face p. 15.

Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar: Motte and Bailey, in the background, above site of "Old Salutation" (facing)

mote. Anyhow, in consideration of the payment of a certain sum, and of holding the Commote "of homage and service to Gilbert Marshall and his heirs," Meredith got both the lands and the lady without fighting. One record[1] states that Meredith agreed to pay 700 marks for the Commote, but that on his marriage to the Earl's niece 400 marks were remitted. By this compact the Earls of Pembroke were to be the chief overlords of both Commotes. But in spite of all, Gilbert's well-laid schemes were defeated,—in part by events which could not have been foreseen.

This agreement, made about 1240, is the turning-point in the history of Emlyn and especially of the Upper Commote. Emlyn uwch Cuch became in due course irrevocably separated from Emlyn is Cuch, and Pembroke lost the right, if right it can be called, to the homage and services of its lords. The trend of its history was turned in the direction of the King's Exchequer at Carmarthen and finally, after the lapse of centuries, the Commote was merged by Act of Parliament into the shire of Carmarthen, and with other lordships marcher helped to swell out its former scanty bounds.

(iii) *The erection of the Newcastle of Emlyn.*

The first movement in the preparation of the way for the founding of both Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar was the partition of the Cantref. The second followed on the heels of the partition. Having obtained possession of the Commote, Meredith's next step was to erect a castle as its administrative centre. Apparently, the twelfth century invaders had thrown up a motte and bailey in what afterwards became Atpar, and the mound survives to this day on a commanding situation overlooking the town bridge[2]. This site, however, even if it were desirable, was not in Emlyn uwch Cuch, but on the right bank of the Teifi in territory held by the Bishops of St. David's as overlords. Nature had provided the site for a castle such as Meredith

[1] Inquis., 27 Ed. I, No. 108; 1299.

[2] The motte and bailey in Atpar and the mound opposite Cenarth Church may, however, represent the sites of forts raised by the men of Atpar in the former case and by the early English tenants in Cenarth in the other. The persistence of the phrase "Castell Cenarth" is suggestive, though in the locality the Castell is supposed to have stood behind the Church.

wished to build, and that in his own lordship. It is the remarkable rocky promontory, spoken of in the Introduction, which thrusts its head into the second and the smallest of the three curves made by the Teifi at this point in its course. The plateau is protected on three of its sides by the river, and the unprotected neck or approach was easily strengthened by ditches and earthworks. Meredith selected the farthest end of the plateau for the structure of his castle, which, owing partly to the cramped character of the situation, and partly to the need for a speedy completion, was singularly poor and unpretentious as compared with the "old castle" of Emlyn at Cilgerran. The real strength of the fort lay in its situation, its ditches and fine earthworks—horn-shaped in front of the gate and forming a parallelogram beyond the great ditch over which was the bridge. This is the Novum castrum, the Castell Nowid, the Novum castrum de Emelyn supra Cuth of the records. With Carmarthen so far behind him and Cantref Mawr coming in between, Meredith's chief danger arose from Cardigan and Cilgerran. It might, therefore, be supposed that from the military point of view his position would have been infinitely stronger had he erected his castle in the village of Cenarth rather than nearly three miles higher up the river. But, as we learn from Giraldus[1], who had visited and described Cenarth fifty-two years before, the only suitable eminence in Cenarth was crowned by the church of Llawddog, and it was too late in the day to desecrate the shrines of the saints. Besides, it was against the feeling and the traditional conduct of Welshmen.

During the efforts of the national party headed by Llewelyn the Great, Meredith adhered to the English, though he trifled with the other side and even swore fealty to Llewelyn. The story of the battle between Patrick de Canton and the Welsh near Cilgerran does not belong to Emlyn uwch Cuch, but Meredith's activities on the side of the defeated royal forces brought him into serious and well-deserved trouble. He fell into the hands of Llewelyn, and having been tried by his peers in Arwystli (1259) was convicted of treason against his Welsh overlord and thrown into prison at Criccieth Castle. He was released at Christmas, but only on giving pledges—his eldest son

[1] *Itinerary*, Dent's, p. 105.

To face p. 16.

Newcastle Emlyn: View of Exterior Walls and Earthworks.

and his two Castles of Dinefor and Newcastle with their two Commotes, viz., Maenor Deilo and Emlyn uwch Cuch[1]. One of the Inquisitions[2] states that Meredith lived at his Newcastle in Emlyn till his death. The statement can only mean that he lived here periodically to the end of his days. He died in 1271, not in his Castle of Emlyn but in that of Dryslwyn.

(iv) *The forfeiture of the Commote and Castle to the King.*

The next lord of Emlyn uwch Cuch was the well-known Rhys ap Meredith. Unlike his father who had tried to face both ways, Rhys remained staunch on the English side throughout the struggle between Edward I. and Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. After the death of the Welsh Prince in 1282, Rhys was rewarded by the King who created him an English knight and bestowed upon him portions of the forfeited estates of Rhys Fychan of Ystrat Tywi. But he had cherished greater expectations and was dissatisfied. Besides, he was hated by some of the English lords, especially by Roger Tibetot, the justiciar, who thwarted him in all directions. At last, exasperated beyond endurance by petty interferences and persecutions, Rhys raised the standard of revolt (1287), and in June by a series of rapid movements took the Castles of Llandovery, Dinefor, Carregcennen, and burnt the towns of Swansea, Oystermouth, Carmarthen, and Llanbadarnfawr[3]. The royal forces were in the field by the end of July, and Dryslwyn Castle which belonged to Rhys was captured. They next attacked the Newcastle of Emlyn and reduced it, not, however, before Rhys had escaped. Roger Mortimer[4] was put in charge of the royal garrison. On November 3rd Rhys suddenly appeared before the Newcastle, overthrew the royal force, and made Mortimer prisoner. As soon as the loss of Emlyn uwch Cuch became known, the King once again appealed to his great

[1] Lloyd's *Hist.* ii, 725–6; May 20, 1259; also Woodward's. pp. 451–2. [2] 27 Ed. I., No. 108. [3] Annales Camb., 1287.

[4] Keeper of W. Wales, Ap. 1279. He was followed by Bogo de Knoville in Jan., 1280, and by Robert de Tibetot in June, 1281, as Justices. The latter held the office for 20 years. *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion,* 1916-7, p. 162.

lords. A fresh army assembled and Roger Tibetot was ordered to advance upon the Newcastle[1].

Two documents have been preserved which furnish a number of illuminating details with respect to the siege. The first is the "Account of Roger Typetot for the munition of the Castle of Dinevor and for the capture and munition of the New Castle in Emlyn."[2] From this we learn that the military engine for pounding the castle walls came from Dryslwyn. Three Welsh knights with their barded horses at 12*d.* a day each, 18 Welsh knights with their disbarded horses at 6*d.* a day each, together with 463 Welsh foot at 2*d.* a day each, guarded the "Engine of Dryslwyn" on the way to the Newcastle of Emlyn. Sixteen horses and some oxen were employed in carrying lead and stones for the engine. The wages of the smiths and carpenters who erected the huge engine, and of the two "engine men" are mentioned; so also are the boards, iron, coal, oil, bacon and other small necessaries expended in connection with the working of this piece of mediæval artillery. Apparently, the actual leader of the besiegers was William de Breus Turnor. It took them from Sunday, 28 December, 1287, to 20 January, 1288, to accomplish their task. No other details relating to the siege are given. It is, however, stated that five Welsh barded knights and 20 disbarded knights stayed in the neighbourhood for four days after the capture of the castle. It is clear that the stronghold was not defended by Rhys in person, for 15 Welsh foot were engaged from December 26, 1287, to January 22, 1288, in searching for him. Other men were employed in the same kind of duty in Llangadog and Ystrat Tywi, showing that the authorities had no definite knowledge of the whereabouts of the rebellious Welsh lord. Though they were unaware of it, Rhys had escaped the country and had found his way to Ireland. The castle could not have suffered very much damage during the two sieges, for Eynon ab Wylim—a name to be kept in mind in this story—was entrusted with the work of munitioning it for the King. From another record[3], the evidence for which was taken at Maynorvorion, Llangeler, on November 26, 1309, we glean a few

[1] Woodward's *Hist.*, p. 559.
[2] Pipe Roll, 16 Ed. I, m. 28; 1287-8.
[3] Inq. A.Q.D., 3 Ed. II, 37.

facts relating to the stormy days which followed the return of Rhys in April, 1292, to renew the struggle. That he should have ventured on the enterprise at all indicates the strength of the feeling against the English, and he must have been fairly assured of the probability of success before leaving the safety of his Irish retreat. The few soldiers guarding the Newcastle for the King became disheartened when they heard of the gathering storm, and because they had no food and munitions despairingly abandoned their charge. A local official, David ab Moriz, the bailiff of Emlyn and a gwrda of the Commote, had more pluck. Together with his sons and kindred, he entered the abandoned stronghold, fortified it and kept it faithfully until his death on the Eve of Whitsun. In July, Roger Tibetot met the rebels, overwhelmed them in a fierce engagement in which 4,000 Welsh were slain, and took Rhys prisoner. He was given short shrift. Having been tried for treason, he was hanged and his body afterwards was drawn at the tails of horses to a dishonourable end.

Meanwhile, David Vychan or Vaughan, the son of David ab Moriz, held the Newcastle in the place of his father, and the record says that he remained there until Thursday, 2 June, 1295, when the "illustrious King," Edward I., passed by the Castle, commended him for his fidelity and granted him the bailiwick of the Commote as his reward[1].

(v) *The settlement of the Bishops' claim to Cenarth Mawr.*

As far as chronological order is concerned, the narrative which follows should have been placed before that relating to the partition of the Cantref and the erection of the Newcastle. The adoption of such a course would, however, have broken up the sequence of political events and have necessitated some degree of repetition. The tract stretching along the right bank of the Teifi from the river Ceri[2] to the borders of the parish of Llandyssul and comprising the civil parishes of Llandyfriog, Henllan and

[1] Inq. A.Q.D., 3 Ed. II, 37.

[2] River names ending in *i* are Pre-Celtic, and cannot be derived from any known Indo-European roots. Anwyl, *Arch. Camb.* vi, iii, 28.

Bangor Teifi, formed "Dyffryn Teifi"—one of the episcopal estates of St. David's[1]. How and when the Bishops acquired this and other estates in the Teifi Valley like Llandygwydd and Llanddewibrefi is not known. It is enough for the purposes of our story that the Bishops were in possession of these estates before the Norman Conquest of Wales. Now, during the long controversy between the Bishops of Landaff and St. David's (958-1136) the former laid claim to Cenarth Mawr, Cenarth Bychan and Llandeilo Cilrhedyn, but no one can be sure as to what the claim involved[2]. At the beginning of the twelfth century, Cenarth Mawr was owned by the Bishops of St. David's, and in this case, as will be seen presently, ownership involved not "ecclesiastical rights" merely, but also, if the phrase be allowed in this connection, full seigniorial rights. In other words, the Bishops were the owners of Cenarth Mawr in the sense in which they were owners of the estate of Dyffryn Teifi. The Normans who seized the Cantref of Emlyn, and Cenarth Mawr as part of it, kept the whole in their grip regardless of the point whether the former possessors were ecclesiastics or laymen. Further, it has been remarked that the Bishops of St. David's at the time of the Conquest—Wilfrith (1096-1115), Bernard (1115-47), and David Fitzgerald (1147-76) —were "more noted for parting with than for reclaiming the possessions of their See."[3] Thus for the time the estate of Cenarth Mawr, probably coterminous with the present civil parish, was lost to the Church and enjoyed by the Normans who held Emlyn.

The following is somewhat conjectural, but it offers an intelligible explanation of the few facts preserved. Fifty years later, when Rhys Arglwydd wrested Emlyn and parts of Ceredigion from the Normans, he naturally held the lands as the Normans had held them; and David Fitzgerald, besides being on his mother's side a near relative of the Welsh lord, was too busy in helping his own family to attempt the recovery of Cenarth Mawr for the Church. Moreover, a new spirit had arisen. The Welsh lords were

[1] Black Book of St. David's. *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No 5, xx-xxiv; 36, 38, 219, 221.

[2] Bevan's *St. David's*, pp. 56-8 and *Cymmrodor*, xi, pt. 2, p. 132.

[3] *Cymmrodor*, xi, pt. 2, p. 132, note 6. and Bevan's *St. David's*, p. 67.

now emulating the Normans in conferring parochial revenues and privileges upon the monasteries which had sprung up on all sides. A great friend of the Cistercians, Rhys Arglwydd became a liberal patron of the Abbeys of Whitland and Strata Florida. He seems to have granted the revenues of the church of Cenarth Mawr to the only Nunnery in the Diocese of St. David's, viz., that of Llanllyr[1], which was subject to Strata Florida. He also gave to Whitland Abbey a portion of the land of one named Meredith of Kylredin, to wit, the Grange of Maenorvorion in the parish of Llangeler[2].

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Church had become sufficiently strong to assert its claims to the land which had been lost during the turmoil of the Conquest. A new type of reforming bishop had succeeded at St. David's. Bishop Iorwerth (1215-1230), formerly Abbot of Talley, applied himself vigorously to regain the estates. In 1220 he proceeded against Maelgwn ap Rhys

[1] Bevan's *St. David's*, pp. 90, 95. The Nunnery is first mentioned about 1200, but apparently it had existed for some years prior to that date. Bevan hesitates to say how and when it acquired the benefice of Cenarth.

[2] Charter Roll, 16 John, 1214, m. 3. Dr. J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*, ii, 597. The Grange lies between the rivers Shedi and Tyweli in the parish of Llangeler. *Hanes Plwyfi Llangeler a Phenboyr*, by D. E. Jones, contains a deal of information respecting the Grange (pp. 69-73, 104). The present writer had independently reached the conclusion that the second element in Maynorvorion is to be explained in the light of "Gwely Oyrion Redewyth," "Gwely Oyron Cuelyn" into which part of the tir gwelyawc of Henllan was divided at the time of the Black Book Survey (p 215); hence the *Maenor of the grandsons of* . . . . . Bevan (p. 88), who had met the form Maynornoria which he failed to identify, states that by an agreement between Bishop Gower and the Abbot of Whitland in 1338, two-thirds of the great tithes and the whole of the lesser tithes and oblations of the Abbey estates were to go to the incumbents of the parishes whence the revenue was drawn, but that in the case of the Chapels of St. Mary, Whitland, and Maynornoria the oblations were to be reserved for the monastery. The Chapel of this maenor is Capel Mair, Llangeler. Part of the rent paid in kind by the tenants consisted of Gieir Ynid or simply Ynid, i.e., poultry paid at the initium of Lent. In most of the records Llangeler appears as Merthir Keler. Merthir = Martyrium, the shrine in which the relics of the saint were preserved. Celer is said by Rees (*Welsh Saints*, p. 306) to have lived during the period 664-700. An account of the legend about the famous fountain of Llangeler and the great fair held there annually from June 21 to the Feast of St. Peter will be found in Lhuyd's *Parochialia*, *Arch. Camb. Supplement*, iii, p. 76.

Arglwydd in the Ecclesiastical Courts for the return of the lands of Llandovery, Cenarth Mawr and other estates. In the end, both Maelgwn and his son, another Maelgwn, were forced to acknowledge the "full rights of the Church" in the lands of Cenarth Mawr, and in this case it is clear that the full rights meant absolute ownership of what may be called the old Maenor of Cenarth[1]. Though the White Nuns of Llanllyr had apparently enjoyed the emoluments of the parish for about a quarter of a century, the Bishop now appropriated the revenues of the Church of Cenarth, together with those of Llywel and St. Dogwell's, to the use of St. David's Cathedral[2]. He may, however, have allowed the Nuns to retain some portion. In the absence of evidence, no one can say what happened subsequently. All we know is that, at a later date, the Bishops held the right of presentation to the Church of Cenarth[3], while the Nuns of Llanllyr apparently enjoyed the tithes of the parish, and that at the end of the century the Maenor, as we have ventured to call it, was not in the possession of the Church but of the lords of Emlyn uwch Cuch. It is not improbable that an arrangement, of which all record is lost, was made between the Earl of Pembroke and Meredith ap Rhys Gryg on the one hand, and Bishop Anselm le Gros (1230-48) on the other. For had the Bishops continued to hold Cenarth Mawr as they held "Dyffryn Teifi," it is somewhat difficult to see how Meredith could have built his "Newcastle," and how the town of Newcastle Emlyn could have come into existence in the way and at the time it did. The settlement of the Bishops' claim and the securing of the whole of Emlyn uwch Cuch under one chief lord were necessary steps in preparing the way for the founding of the towns.

[1] Harl. MSS 6280, f 80. Also *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1911-12, 146-7. As is evidenced by the name Maynorvorion, the Commote was originally divided into maenors.

[2] Bevan's *St. David's*, p. 110.

[3] "Episcopal Registers of St. Davids"; (*Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 6, under May 16, 1487.) Cenarth is in the Bishop's collation.

CHAPTER II.

The Commote of Emlyn uwch Cuch immediately before the creation of the boroughs.

(i) *The Constables.*

The Newcastle of Emlyn and the Commote were now in the hands of the King. For nearly a hundred years after the attainder of Rhys ap Meredith they were in the charge of Bailiffs and Constables responsible for the chief rents, etc., to the Chamberlain of West Wales at the Exchequer in Carmarthen. For convenience sake, it were better to give here a list of the names of the Constables from 1290 to 1382. It would seem that after 1287-8 David Moriz acted as bailiff under the King until 1290, and until 1293 under Roger Tibetot, who got the estates of Rhys ap Meredith for four years[1]. On the death of his father in 1293, David Vychan occupied the post under Tibetot for one year, and under the Crown apparently from 1295 to 1311. From this date, Constables follow without break to the end of our period—1382. Sir Richard Wroth (1311-1314); Robert de Acton (1314-1316); Geoffrey de Bello Fago (1316-1319); William de Knovill (1319-132—); Sir Rhys ap Griffith (132—-1326); Hugh de Tyrpington (1327-—); Thomas de Blauncfrount (1331-1333); Gilbert Talbot (1333-—); Hugh de Ferrars (on the death of Talbot—1346); Richard de la Bere (1346 Sept. 1380); Simon de Burley (March to Nov. 1382 as Constable).

(ii) *The Commote under David Vychan or Vaughan.*

Several records relating to the period of David Vaughan have been preserved. One[2] of them has an important bearing upon the history of Atpar; in fact it contains the first documentary notice of the place which we possess. In 1297, William de Camville and Walter de Pederton were commissioned to deal with the persons who had carried away the goods of Margery, late wife of Geoffrey Clement at Maerdref, Atpar and Emlyn. The jurors are those of the "Commotes of Gwynionith and

[1] Woodward's *Hist*, p. 559.

[2] Pat. Roll, 25 Ed. I, pt. ii, m 12; Cal. 317. July 8, 1297. Walter de Pederton was Constable of Carmarthen. *Rot. Parl.* 143-150.

Emlyn." Thus the name Atpar was in existence in 1297 and property therein was held by English people. Had it been a burgus at this date it would probably have been described as such.

Two years later, the granddaughter of Earl William Marshall, viz., Joan the wife of William de Valence, and also John de Hastings, who had married Isabella, their daughter, entered a claim in the King's Courts for the possession of the "Castle of Emlyn formerly belonging to Rees ap Meredith, hanged for treason." The King's justice in South Wales, Walter de Pederton, was ordered to investigate and decide the claim. The jurors from Emlyn, whose names are given[1], attended at Carmarthen where the case was tried. The substance of their evidence has already been incorporated into the text of our story. The only point which need be referred to here is that the King retained his hold upon the Commote on the grounds that Cynan ap Howel had done "homage to the King" and "service at Carmarthen," and that both Gilbert Marshall in 1223 and Roger Tibetot in 1288 had seized the lands with the King's army and in the King's name and for the King's use[2]. Thus Gilbert Marshall's schemes with regard to the Upper Commote were frustrated; in truth they had been rendered nugatory long before by the course of political events; but spite of the fact that Cynan's forfeiture involved the whole Cantref, the Earls of Pembroke established their rights in the Commote of Emlyn is Cuch. The law only confirmed what the events of history had made good.

The Courts having finally decided that Emlyn uwch Cuch belonged to the Crown, considerable attention was directed to the improvement of its internal affairs, and as we shall see in the next chapter, to the re-organisation of the lands and their tenants in the vicinity of the castle. The castle itself was repaired and replenished with dead stores in 1300[3], and judging from a few stray details, it would seem that a small body of English had settled near

[1] See Miscellanea; chap. viii, List of Jurors.

[2] Chancery Inquis. Miscellan., File 47/18, m 2; Inquis. 27 Ed, I, 108. Also Phillips' *Cilgerran*, p. 240.

[3] Close Roll, 28 Ed. I, m. 12; Cal. 337. The Castle was one of the royal prisons. Dinefor also. *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1916-7, p. 173.

it. It is not at all unlikely that Edward I. on his visit to the Commote had left some of his followers behind in order to strengthen the garrison, although it need not be supposed that they were the first English in the place. We have already had evidence that Englishmen held property in both Atpar and Emlyn. Amongst those holding part of the demesne in 1300 was Sir Richard Wroth[1], who also held the mill of Cenarth and the fisheries. It would seem as if his interests at this date were looked after by a brother of his or a near relative—William Wroth[2]. The significance of the "individual owners" of a later document should not be passed unnoticed; these were not Welsh, at any rate, they did not hold their lands by Welsh custom.

Hitherto, no information about the internal economy of the Commote has been forthcoming. Official returns of the rents and other profits accruing from the Commote begin to appear now. The first is a mere fragment relating to the demesne[3]; the next, that of 1301-2[4], is full of detail. From this we learn that David Vaughan was "Constable of the Commote," and Madoc ap Gruffith the beadle. In the 1300 fragment we read that Kenewreyk ap Lewelin and David Vaughan "and their fellows" held parts of the demesne at 2*s*. a year. Richard Wroth appears in both accounts as having failed to pay his rent of 1*s*. for his parcel of the demesne, though he had paid his rent of 73*s*. 4*d*. "for holding the mill and weir of Kennarth at farm." Morgan ap Howel holding "land in the Commote by grant of Meredith ap Rees" paid 1*d*. yearly at Michaelmas; Willim and Griffith, sons and heirs of Anian ap Willim, held their lands of the King at 12*d*. a year[5]. In these two last instances, the land is called after the person who first obtained the grant. A certain

[1] At a later date Ricardus Wrothe was the custodian "terre de Gower in the king's hand at the time" (I.P.M., 15 Ed. II. 90; 27 Feb., 1322, Clark's *Cartae Glam.*, p. 617). Wrothe had probably rendered special service during the revolts of Rees ap Meredith, and as a reward got a grant of a part of the demesne of Emlyn. It will be noted that he paid the same rent as Anian ab Willim.

[2] *Black Book of St. Davids.* He was juror in 1328 (I.P.M., 1 Ed. III, 80), and appears among the loyal tenants in 1343.

[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1158, No. 2.

[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1218, No. 1.

[5] This grant should be carefully noted.

Marglas paid 12*d.* yearly for the lord's protection, and 20 tenants paid for the pannage of their pigs—probably in the lord's forest which will be referred to further on. Unfortunately, in not one of the records are there hints which would enable us to locate the *tir gwelyawc* of the family-groups living in the Commote. The beadle collected the rents of these lands, and their descriptive names are reminiscent of the days when the old Welsh lords or the members of their *teulu* went on *cylch* and actually consumed the "rents" on the spot. The gwestva of £18 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid "by the community" at the four feasts of Christmas, Easter, St. John the Baptist, and Michaelmas; the potura (porthiant kais) of 106*s.* 8*d.* was paid by "several persons in the community" at Michaelmas; the old kylch march, the "drink or provender of the lord's horses,"—67*s.* 6*d.* was paid by "divers at Easter." There was also a fine or prise of 12 cattle claimed by the lord from the best cattle of the Commote for the purpose of his larder at Martinmas, a payment which had been commuted for 40*d.* for each beast, but was now in abeyance "until the Prince or his Council" came to "view the state of the district." The Prince's Commissioners[1] came in order to "view," and the prise is not heard of again. According to this record, there were at this date "bondsmen of our lord the King and bondsmen of the free-tenants of the Commote", and they are expressly mentioned as paying 20 pigs (each worth 8*d.*) for the pannage in the woods and forests. These, no doubt, are the 20 tenants (paying one pig each) named in the record of 1300. The sum total from the whole Commote amounted to £47 18*s.* 5*d.*

Another document of importance is the Roll of the Court of Emlyn for the year ending Michaelmas, 1303[2]. It is chiefly interesting on account of the personal names it contains, and also for the statement that certain lands were rented by individuals at 8*d.*, 7*d.*, 6*d.*, 2*d.* a year. There were disagreements then as now, and when the value of money is considered, the fines at the Court of Emlyn were sometimes heavy. Iorwerth ap Llewelyn lost his case as against Traharn ap Gwasmyangel and had to pay 3*s.* Traharn must have been a much injured man,

[1] See Miscellanea, chap. viii, Commissioners, 1302.
[2] Court Roll, Portfolio, 215, No. 20.

for on account of his plaint Leukin Goch was fined 2*s*., Ieuan ap Iorwerth 2*s*., Wenthlian verch Iorwerth 2*s*. Angharad verch Saer had quarrelled with Gwladys verch Phillip, and it cost her 12*d*.; and Erdedevel[1] verch Ken paid the like fine on account of the plaint of Mylsaunt. Other names which appear are Dyddgu Vachan, Nest, Tangwystel, and Eva; and also names like Flemeye, Protyn Brougham, Llewelyn Ffrome, Ieuan Moules, which suggest Welsh mothers and English or Flemish fathers. David ap Griffith was fined 3*s*. for trespassing in the lord's woods; and as illustrating how strictly the courts were conducted, Ieuan ap David had to pay 12*d*. for disturbing, and Ieuan, the clerk, 12*d*. for impeding the "lord's court." Ieuan apparently was a cleric, and "brother Aygloth," who withdrew his plaint against Madoc ap Madrun, seems to have been one of the monks from the Grange of Maynorvorion.

CHAPTER III.

The founding of the Boroughs.

(i) *The Trevs.*

In 1188 Giraldus visited Cenarth[2] and in his Itinerary mentions the Church of Llawddog, the mill, the bridge, the productive fisheries and the orchard with the delight-

[1] The name appears also in Cilgerran. Calendar Vol. ii, *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7, p. 13.

[2] See p. 10, n. 1. The chief items of antiquarian interest are (i) The Gellydywyll Stone, now fixed near the south door of the Parish Church. It was removed thence in 1894 from Gellydywyll where it had been carried from Park y maen llwyd According to Lewis Morris the stone in 1743 was 20 miles away at Maenclochog, Pemb. The inscription in rude letters of Hiberno-British form reads:—

CURCAGNI FILI ANDAGELLI

Arch. Camb., iv, vii, 141. v, xi, 81. v, xiii, 134. *Inventory of Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, p. 13 Lloyd's *Hist. of Wales*, i, 114. (2) Y Domen Fawr (circumference 450 feet, height 20 feet) on the field the other side of the road from the Church, has already been referred to (pp. 8, n. 2, 15, n. 2). (3) The bowl of the font in the Parish Church belongs to Llandisiliogogo. Used as a pig trough on Perthyronen Farm, Talgarreg, the birthplace of the Rev. D. H. Davies, formerly Vicar of Cenarth, it was set by the Vicar in its present place when he rebuilt

ful garden. Cenarth seems to have been the centre of the whole Cantref before the coming of the Norman and the erection of the castle at Cilgerran; at any rate, more is known about it during this period than about any other part of Emlyn. The migrations of the famous "Seven Dybrgwyr of Llanddowror" of the Book of Llandav appear to have ended amidst the allurements of its charming scenery[1]. Its very name suggests the presence of an early "fortified enclosure."[2] But in Giraldus' day its value lay in its "productive fisheries," which, if one may argue for once from the silence of a keen and observant author, were of greater importance than those of Cilgerran[3]. But Cenarth was not the only vill in the parish. There was another—a mere collection of rude cottages situated on the outer neck of the bank upon which the present Newcastle Emlyn stands. This was the home of the inferior tenants of the maerdref—the chieftain's demesne[4]. The building of the Castle about 1240 on the furthest point of the anvil-shaped bank brought about a great transformation in the character of the place. Very soon there sprang up a cluster of dwelling-houses near the stronghold itself —the homes of the newcomers, the lord's dependants, soldiers, artizans, a few English or probably Flemish traders from Pembrokeshire, and those who sought the lord's protection. Land was found for these partly on the demesne and partly on the recovered waste lying towards the river on the north. This collection of houses soon

the church in 1872. "Within the loops at the four points are human faces in relief and at one point where the loop is extra large there are two faces." *Baptismal Fonts*, by Prof. Tyrrell Green, *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* 1918-9; p. 47 for an engraving; p. 83 for the description. The fonts also of Troedyraur, Henllan, Bangor Teifi, Llanfair-Orllwyn are most interesting.

[1] *Liber Land.*, p. 129.

[2] See p. 10, n. 1.

[3] Dent's *Edit.*, p. 105. For an account of these and other fisheries in the Teifi and the Tywi see "Some Ancient Fishery Records" in the *Salmon and Trout Magazine*, June, 1916, No. 13. The article, however, needs correction, *e.g.* Griffith ap Nicholas for Rees ap Griffith. Though he stayed at Cilgerran, Giraldus does not mention the fisheries there. See also, Miscellanea, chap. viii, Fisheries of Emlyn.

[4] As a rule, holy wells are near ancient churches or chapels and these near the ancient vills. Ffynnon Llawddog, which within living memory used to be visited by ailing people, is situated at the mouth of Cwm Penbuarth, *i.e.* Cwm Arad. It may be that the earliest tref of the taiogion was near this holy well—on part of the demesne.

acquired the name of Trefcastell[1]. Growth was possible only by the extension of the Trefcastell towards the homes of the old Welsh tenants, and as this pentref would remain stationary and the Trefcastell alone could grow, the name in due course extended over the whole.

There was also an old Welsh tref on the Bishops' estate on the other side of the Teifi, and tradition gives it the name of Trehedyn[2]. The name belongs to the same category as Tre Drëyr and Treligen[3], which seem to be older than the parishes of St. Michael's Tre Drëyr and St. Mary's Treligen, and this is in favour of the antiquity of Trehedyn, though, as far as the records go, Trehedyn first appears in an Elizabethan document as the name of a messuage and somewhat later as the name of a part of the Borough of Atpar. Whatever doubt may be expressed as to the name, there can be no reasonable doubt about the existence of the tref, for the free-tenants of "Dyffrin Teifi" lived in Llandyfriog, Henllan and Bangor, and there must have been a body of inferior tenants to work the demesne. But, as we have already seen, Atpar[4] was the name of a well-known place in the thirteenth century. Originally, it was probably the name applied to the rich lands on the banks of the Teifi below the present town bridge, and on the slope to the old road to the Forest Farm; latterly it became extended over the whole tract,

[1] "Land of Trevcastel." *Min. Acc.* 1218/6. 1307-8.

[2] The earliest instance of the name in the local records occurs in Deedpoll 29 September, 1581, 23 Eliz., in which William ap Rees David Du grants to Mary Lloyd his messuages "Le Dole Goch, Kwr y Coed and Trehedyn in the parish of Landevriog." In Indenture, 8 James I, 20 June, we have "Y ty ar y cnwc in Trehedyn," and again in Indenture, 29 September, 1722 "Ty ar y cnwc in Trehedin," (*Cilgwyn Archives*). In the Elizabethan record Trehedyn is a messuage, an ancient burgage; in the later records it apparently represents that part of Atpar below which stood the Old Salutation.

[3] See p. 37, n. 1.

[4] The name is now generally spelt Adpar. The present writer has never heard a Welshman pronounce it thus in a breath-group of words. The form Adpar is comparatively modern; the records invariably give Atpar. The prevailing usage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is illustrated by the following taken from documents in the *Cilgwyn Archives*:—"Borough of the Town of Atpar" (*Chief Rent Roll*, 1670-80); "Burgus de Attpar" (*Man. Roll*, 1709); "Attpar" (12 May, 1711); "Burg et villa de Attpar" (*Man. Roll*, 25 April, 1730); "Attpar villet Libert" (18 Otober. 1723); Borough and Corporation of Atpar" (1734); "The Ancient Corporation of Atpar

which, in the fourteenth century, was called the Manor of Atpar. The process by which Atpar as a name became so comprehensive is clear enough in the light of the facts. Now a comparison of the names of the tenants in the Forinseca of Cilgerran in 1292 with those of the Black Book Survey at Atpar in 1326 reveals the striking fact that whereas the number of English names in the former is singularly small, the number in the latter is relatively high and that at a time when Atpar was at a low ebb. When the castle was built in 1240 there could have been no displacement of the old Welsh tenants in Emlyn and on the Bishops' demesne[1], and there could have been no motive for such a displacement. Meredith ap Rhys represented Welsh traditions ; the castle belongs to rather a late date and no burgus was founded at the time. The Welsh tenants, therefore, remained undisturbed on both sides of the river, and yet a distinct settlement of Anglo-Norman or English folk had taken place on the lands called Atpar and also near the castle in Emlyn. The tendency at the beginning was for the newcomers to keep themselves apart, and thus there were two small groups of dwelling-houses on the Cardiganshire side just as there were in Emlyn, and these were the outward and visible signs of two kinds of land tenure. The Welsh tenants continued to hold their lands according to the Welsh system ; the

otherwise called Trehedin" (Dep. 16 October, 1740). The origin of the name is baffling. (i) The Bishop of St. David's at the time of the settlement of the Anglo-Normans was Thomas Wallensis (1248-1256). Previous to his election to St. David's, he was Archdeacon of Lincoln. Led by the notion that the place-name might have been brought here by Lincolnshire men who followed in the Bishop's train, the present writer has sought far afield for a name of similar sound. It is clear, however, that the Anglo-Norman settlers in Atpar came chiefly from Glamorganshire though the names of some show that they came originally from Lincolnshire. (ii) Dr. J. E. Lloyd suggested that the old Welsh word for *aftermath, second-crop,* viz. Atpawr, should be carefully examined. Atpawr would be perfectly descriptive of the rich pasture lands in the valley below the spot where apparently the old Welsh tref stood. In popular speech the word had probably undergone contraction even at this date, but we should have expected Atpōr (pawr, pōr-i) on the lips of Welshmen. We may, however, safely assume that it was the foreign settlers who were responsible for the form Atpar, which soon became the fixed record form.

[1] *Black Book Survey*, Intro., xx.

The following note taken from Indent. 29 September, 1722, is worthy of preservation, "Four acres of Welsh measure called Gwirglodd Aberkerri".

newcomers in both Atpar and Trefcastell held by individual ownership, like those already referred to as paying 8*d.*, 7*d.*, 6*d.*, 2*d.* a year for their holdings. Such was the condition of things at the end of the thirteenth century; it was soon to undergo a momentous change.

(ii) *The Newtown of Emlyn.*

We know what took place in Emlyn; in the absence of direct evidence we can only assume that what took place in Emlyn took place also on the Bishops' demesne in Atpar. Between Michaelmas and Easter, 1303, the little trevs of Emlyn with their different kinds of land tenure were converted into one organised community, all the lands into burgage-tenements[1] and the tenants into burgesses privileged with some degree of self-government under a port reeve. In the Minister's Accounts of William Rogate, 1303-4[2], it is expressly stated that the town had been created by the "grant of our lord, the Prince," and that it had not been arrented before Michaelmas, 1303. And just as the castle was called the "Newcastle of Emlyn," so the newly organised community was called the "Newtown of Emlyn"—to distinguish them from the old castle and the old town of Emlyn in Cilgerran. The facts of the Black Survey of Atpar in 1326 can only be explained on the supposition that that borough also was founded about the same time as the Newtown by a grant of its lord, David Martyn, Bishop of St. David's (1296-1328)[3].

Several problems arise in connection with the founding of these towns. We can deal with two only:—(1)

[1] The present writer has seen but two specific references to burgages in Newcastle Emlyn:—(i) Indent. 26 Sept., 3 Ch. i, 1627, Sir Henry Jones of Abermarlais, in consideration of 20 marks, grants to Thomas Lloyd of Kilgwyn all that messuage or tenement or burgage situate in the "Village or Town of Emlyn" in the occupation of Jno. Griffiths, to be holden of the Chief Lord of the fee thereof, by rents and services accustomed. (This seems to be the site of the Old Graig Chapel.) (ii) In Exchequer Dep., 16 June 1630, No. 1, we have "Certain lands and house being a burgage in the Villedge of Emlin called Twy yn y loan". References to the Atpar burgages are common enough.

[2] *Min. Acc.* 1218/2.

[3] That is, if Dyffryn Teifi was a lordship marcher, otherwise the grant must have been made by the Prince.

Why the conversion of the lands into town-lands had been so long delayed? and (2) What led to it at this date?

(1) During the 60 years of the castle's existence there would be a natural tendency towards the assimilation of the old order to the conditions obtaining around other castles like those of Cardigan and Cilgerran. An increase of revenue would have accrued to the Welsh lords of the Newcastle had they been in a position to turn the lands in its vicinity into town-lands. Besides, the increase in the population near the castle and dependent upon it, would have strengthened their hands as against an invader. But, however much it would have been to their advantage, they probably dared not meddle with the traditions of their Welsh tenants, and without a change in the system of land-tenure the town could not be formed.

(2) It was the consistent policy of Edward I. to encourage the creation of towns in Wales, partly as a check upon the "unruly Welsh" and as guarantees of orderly government, and partly as centres from which English culture would stream forth into the country around. Atpar was in the Bishops' estate of "Dyffryn Teifi," but the bishop at the time when arrangements for the creation of the boroughs were being made was Beck (1280-1296), whose ideal was in principle the same as the King's, viz., the establishment of colleges where the clergy could be the more easily controlled, which shows that the secular Welsh clergy of the period played an influential part in keeping alive the national spirit of their people. After the quelling of the third Welsh revolt, that of Madog ap Llewelyn[1], the "illustrious King," Edward I., marched with a part of his army through the Commote which had occasioned so much trouble during the risings of Rhys ap Meredith[2]. He must have considered the question of the good government of the Commote, and it is not too great a demand upon our credence to hold that it was he who advised the creation of the boroughs of the Newtown and Atpar. The work was rendered easier by the forfeitures which must have followed the revolts of Rhys. The Welsh on both sides of the river had probably been implicated. The fitting opportunity for the change arrived

[1] It occupied the King until May, 1295 (Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, ii, 132).
[2] Inquis. A.Q.D., Nov. 26, 1309.

soon after Edward of Carnarvon was made Prince of Wales (1300-1)[1] and the lands of Emlyn uwch Cuch were assigned to him as a portion of his "Principality."[2]

(iii) *The Development of the Towns.*

In 1303-4 there were only 26 burgages in the Newtown of Emlyn, each burgage paying a rent of 12*d.* a year[3]. The conditions obtaining in Atpar in 1326 forbid the assumption that there were 26 burgesses, unless sub-tenants would be included in the term. There were, however, other townsmen called "burgesses in gross" who held neither burgages nor lands, but paid a rent of 6*d.* each, 5*s.* 6*d.* in all, for the privilege of enjoying the same liberties as the burgesses proper. The town grew very rapidly. The burgage-tenements more than doubled in one year. In 1304-5[4] there were 54 burgages paying £2 14*s.* 0*d.*, and in 1307-8, 61[5], and in 1316, 62[6] of them. Curiously the number of "tenants in gross" seem to have remained about the same until 1316, when the total rent paid by them amounted to 12*s.* There were, therefore, about 86 tenants or sub-tenants of either kind in the Newtown of Emlyn at the end of Michaelmas term 1316. Fairs were established in 1307-8, the one at Martimas, the other at the Feast of St. Barnabas[7]. The former was

[1] Woodward, p. 561-2. Edward himself in one of his letters says that he was granted the Land of Wales in 29 Ed. I.

[2] Though a lordship marcher, Emlyn uwch Cuch was in some respects treated as part of the Principality. The Escheator of the Marches (not of the County of Carmarthen) made the inquest preceding the grant to the Prince. The Lordship is described as a March in I.P.M., 7 H. VI, No. 32, 1428-9. Emlyn, Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Dinefor, Dryslwyn, Carmarthen were regarded as independent hundreds of the County. (*Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1916-7, p. 165.)

[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1218-9.

[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1218/6.

[5] *Min. Acc.*, 1219/4-5.

[6] *Min. Acc.*, 1219/6-7.

[7] *Min. Acc.*, 1218/6, 1307-8. The following rhigwm often heard in Newcastle Emlyn refers to one of these fairs:—

Ffair Fartin gaglog, Ffair fach Glyngeua
A ffair Gynon ddu, Yw'r oreu gen i.

The other is mentioned in the fictitious *Hen Lythyrau o Gymru*, No. xii, dated Bargod, Medi 15, 1727, published in *Yr Ymofynydd*, Rhagfyr, 1872. In this will be found a most amusing account of the happenings in a Ffair Gwyl Barna, Castell Newydd Emlyn, the animals in which were put under a spell by witches. Though Ffair

the better attended by traders, for the tolls came to 6*s*. 6*d*. whilst the tolls from the latter came to only 1*s*. The increase here again was steady, for by the year 1316 the tolls had crept up to 16*s*. 2*d*. and 4*s*. 7*d*. Similarly, the Court perquisites give evidence of growing activities; whereas in 1305 they were only 17*s*. 4*d*., in 1316 they were £3 9*s*. 2*d*. The "Newtown of Emlyn" had now nearly reached its fullest growth, and this is the more remarkable because in 1314-5 a severe famine had swept over the land[1]. Information about Atpar at this date is not available. Reading backward from the facts recorded in the Survey of 1326, it would seem that from the very beginning it was a larger town than its sister borough, unless indeed its growth between 1304 and 1326 had been considerably more rapid. Here, again, the burgesses held a stang and one acre of land for which they paid 12*d*. in half yearly payments—at Easter and Michaelmas. Different from the Newtown of Emlyn, Atpar had no tenants in gross, though there were a few "protective tenants" paying 4*d*. each for living under the lord's ægis.

(iv) *Review.*

Their organisation being complete we are now in a position to conjure up a mental picture of the boroughs and their environs as they appeared some 600 years ago. Taking our stand on a favourable spot near Cilgwyn, we see nearly the whole of that part of Emlyn with which we are now concerned; for rising from about 90 feet at the river's edge to 631 at Penyrherber[2], and reaching 1,100

Gynon was held at Atpar, the name belongs to Capel Cynon, which (like Atpar for a time) was under Llandisiliogogo.

[1] The severest famine recorded in European history.

[2] There was a "place" called Yr Herber, also a Blaen Llwyn y Garn which Nicholas ap Rees Thomas, Gent., once owned (*Indent*. 24 *May*, 1785). Yr Herber is probably represented by the lands of Tan yr Herber and Pen yr Herber. There was also a Park yr Herber near Llandyfriog (Herbarium=Herb garden). Curiously, near each of these Herber names is a *Spite* (Hospitium):—(i) The little tyddyn on the Dwrog in Emlyn, and (ii) the old mill in Llandyfriog, which in the Tithe Award of 1839 is called Spite Mill. There is nothing in the records to connect these *Spites* with any monastic body. Llandyfriog was, according to the Valor, appropriated to the Archdeacon of Cardigan (Bevan's *St. Davids*, p. 150). Grove's *Alienated Tithes* does not refer to Llandyfriog and yet according to the Tithe Award two-thirds of the tithes belonged in 1839 to a Lay Impropriator—Anwyl Jones of Llanfairfechan.

feet on the summit of Moelfre, the scene opens out like a panorama before us. Immediately below us—somewhat to the right—is the triangular edifice of the castle with its vertex to the east and its base—its towers and its gateway looking down the valley in the direction of Cenarth, Cilgerran and Cardigan. Near the entrance to the castle enclosure is the chapel, dedicated probably to the Holy Trinity[1], where the residents of the castle and the townsmen of Emlyn worship together on Sunday and Holy Day, for as yet there is no chapel within the structure of the stronghold. A little beyond—around the present Castle Square—are the homes of the castle dependents, the English artizans and tradesmen, and perhaps a market place and a hall for holding the town courts, especially those dealing with the conduct of the fairs. Further away and near what is now known as Tir-dre and the Porth[2] is another group of rude homes where dwell the successors of the taiogion, who under the old regime tilled the lord's demesne as part of their service. As yet, the space between these two groups of houses is not filled up, but it is being filled as the town increases in size. The acres of land in the tenure of the burgesses, consisting partly of what was formerly tir-gwelyawc[3], and chiefly of what had been the lord's demesne, are situated on the gentle slope towards the Teifi and on the upland between the Ffinnant and the dell of the Gwyddon. In fact, most of this townland was comprised in the eighteenth century Tythyn Tir-y-dre. We see, also, the scattered portions of what remains of the demesne, now rented out to various individuals—the Dolcastell, the Dolbrenin and the land which many centuries later formed Tythyn Aberarad[4], whereon stand the corn mill—at the aber,—and the fulling mill

[1] The Feast of St. Barnabas (the fair day) falls next to Trinity Sunday on which a fair would not be held. In 1922 both festivals were on the same date—June 11th. The Chapel was there probably before the fair was established.

[2] The Porth probably goes back to mediæval times. The old Gateway Inn, where the early Methodists used to preach, took its name from the Porth.

[3] An allowance was made out of the gwestva after the creation of the Borough (*Min. Acc.*, 1218, No. 6, 1307-8), For instances of grants of escheated Welsh lands to Municipalities see Dr. E. A. Lewis' *Decay of Tribalism, Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1902-3, p. 43.

[4] Exchequ. Dep; 6 Ch. I, Mich. No. 1.

somewhat higher up the stream. The tract right above the town lands, distinctly marked out by its strong fences, is the protected enclosure for the lord's red deer. It was probably known even then as Park Nest—Nest being perhaps the daughter of the Welsh lord who erected the castle. The entrances to this park are indicated by the present Park Nest homestead, by Bwlch-y-pal[1], and Bwlch-cae-brith. Higher up, but more to the south, is the rough, uncultivated Forest land, the situation and extent of which may be gathered from the existing farm-names, Penbuarth[2] Fforest, Blaenfforest, Cil-y-fforest and Penfforest, the three former looking down the valleys of the forked Arad, and the last hidden away behind the Moelfre in East Cilrhedyn.

Retracing our steps, we cross the Teifi Valley and climb to Penlon in Emlyn. We see the Newcastle and the town of Emlyn once again. Beyond the river lies part of the Commote of Gwynionydd-Iscoed in Ceredigion, and within it, sloping up from the river, is the Bishops' estate of "Dyffryn Teifi." To the right, in the bend of the hill, are Allt Esgob and the tir gwelyawc of the free-tenants of Lodrepedran[3], and nearer the river, the parish

[1] In the 1532 Survey we are told that "there is within a mile of this Castell (Newcastle Emlyn) a forrest belonging to the same which is well wodded, with certain red dere therein." (This should not be confused with the Bishop's Forest of Atpar.) Leland's testimony (1536-9) is "There is a little forest by Emelin and a park was ther ons palid." This explains the Park in *Park Nest*. James Howell of Bwlch y Pâl, a most remarkable blind man (died 1921), gave this explanation of the pâl, "Clywes ganwaith pan own yn blentyn fod pal yma—lle a chaere iddo i gadw'r creadur a elwir bwch danas", and he stated further that in his father's time the pale could be traced. Judging from the two Bwlch names, it seems that in the later mediæval period the whole of the uplands above Park Nest was paled but that in Leland's day only the part near Bwlch y Pal remained enclosed. These *pal* names are not uncommon, *e.g.*, in Carmarthenshire we have Cefn pal (Cefn y pale, Tir y palis) near Llandovery; Pant y pal (Llandebie); Hole cwm pale (Llanishmael); Cwm palis (Mydrim); Cwm Pale, Old Pale, Pale Gate, Little Pale (in Kiffyg). It is said that the site of the old Rectory at Bangor Teifi was called Pal; Penrhiwpal in Gwynionydd-Iscoed is well known.

[2] Originally the fold for the cattle in the care of the forest herdsmen.

[3] None of the surviving place-names in Llandyfriog helps to explain Lodre-pedran. There is a Nant Pedran in Cilrhedyn. The Vicarage was formerly an old farm house called Abertrosol. The cottage a little above the Vicarage is named Castell Henllys.

church, the little llan of Tyfriog. Right in front of us is the Borough of Atpar, bounded by the cwm of the Ceri, the confines of the parish of Llanfair-treligen[1], and a line drawn roughly around the lands of Blaennant Farm to meet the Teifi[2]. On the uplands above Cwm Ceri are the 40 acres of the "Forest of Atpar." To the south and the east of the Forest and running down to the Teifi are the acres cultivated by the burgesses, while the dwelling-houses with their garden plots are arranged in an ascending line along the hill towards Bryndiodde just as at present. The lord's mill of Atpar stands not far off the bridge. The burgesses are under an obligation to build and repair it at their own cost, besides grinding their corn there. There is some land in the lord's hand—probably to the east of Atpar, and if he thinks fit to sow corn in it "certain persons" in Llandyfriog are bound to put in three days at the reaping, getting their food on one day only. There is a chapel in the borough dedicated probably to St. Thomas the Martyr, for the fair is held on the Feast of the Translation of that popular saint, and were we near enough we might possibly see a shrine of the Virgin[3] just under the motte and bailey.

[1] A small parish attached to Llandyfriog and lying between Troedyraur and Llangynllo. Of the Church of St. Mary very little remains. The site of the llan enclosure covered 1r. 6pls. (No. 116 Tithe Map). According to the Tithe Award, there is a tumulus in the field No. 118. Ffynnon Fair Farm (Nos. 99-132) tells its own story. In books like Barker's *Endowments* (vol. iii, 152) the name is given as Llanfair Trelygen; in Speed's Map, 1610, Llanvaier Treligen; in the Tithe Award the second element is Trefligen; in Bacon's *Liber*, Treligen als Helygen als Trefylon. The Church is not mentioned in the Taxatio of 1291, neither is it referred to in the Episcopal Registers (1397-1518) unless it is the Treferen or Trefereu in Subaeron (p. 826) which comes next to Llandyfriog. We have St. Mary in the Elms, St. Peter in the Rushes, Llanbedr y Cenin (Dr. Fisher in *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1906-7, p. 96), and Llanfihangel Helygen in the Archdeaconry of Brecon; but in the case of Treligen it is not the church but the tref that is connected with the willow, that is, if *ligen* is a contraction of helygen. Treligen, Tre Drëyr, Trehedyn belong to the same category—names of districts occupied by a family group. The Church of Tre Dreyr (Troedyraur) is dedicated to St. Michael.

[2] See chap. viii, Boundaries of the Parish of Newcastle Emlyn.

[3] The "Old Salutation" which was situated in Atpar near the bridge appears to have been an ancient hostlery and it may have taken its name from such a shrine. George Borrow once stayed at this Inn (*Borrow's Second Tour in Wales. Cymmrodor* xxii, 160).

CHAPTER IV.

The Foreign Bailiwick and the "Commote."

Every town in Wales which had grown up under the shadow of a Norman castle was to all intents a "little England"[1] within Wales, that is to say, it was a settlement chiefly of aliens who held their tenements according to foreign custom; hence the term Foreignry. The Welsh, who lived beyond the liberties of these towns, clung most tenaciously to their own system of land tenure and the laws which had been handed down by their fathers. Blood, language and social customs, also, helped to widen the gulf between these two classes of tenants. The Lordship of Kidwelly with its town is a good illustration of such an organisation in Carmarthenshire. The earliest townsmen of Kidwelly were Normans, English and Flemish[2], and the Welsh had no place within the bounds. Most of the other towns of Carmarthenshire belong to a different category. Carmarthen[3] and Llandovery[4] had had a continuous existence of a sort from the period of the Roman occupation; Dinefor[5] with Llandeilo, owing to its position as the seat of the Welsh princes, was probably a trev of considerable importance long before the Normans came into the country. In these towns and epecially in those of later origin like Llangadog on the Bishops' estate of Tir Esgob, the nucleus of the population was Welsh, not Norman or English. This is especially true of both the Newtown of Emlyn and Atpar. These owe their origin to the castle, but the Newcastle was built not in the early twelfth but in the middle of the thirteenth century, not by Anglo-Normans but by Welsh lords, not to overawe hostile natives, but merely for protective and administrative purposes. Yet very soon after the period of the Welsh lords had passed away, we find in Emlyn uwch Cuch the same divisions as existed in lordships like that

[1] That is, Norman England.

[2] Dugdale's *Mon.* iv, 64-5, n. 1. Jones' *Kidwelly*, 112.

[3] J. E. Lloyd's *Carmarthen. Arch. Camb.*, vi, vii, 3 p 281 ff.

[4] *Ancient Churches of Llandovery, Trans. Society of Cymmrodorion.* 1911-12, pp. 49-74.

[5] *Trans. West Wales Society*, vol. i, 147, and authorities cited there.

of Kidwelly. In Kidwelly[1] we have the Forinseca which included the borough, and the Welshry, viz., all the lands of the lordship outside the Foreignry; in Llangadog[2] and Llandeilo Fawr[3] we have the Town and the Patria (Y Wlad); in Cilgerran[4] the Forinseca and the Commote (later Manor) of Emlyn; in Emlyn uwch Cuch the Foreign Bailiwick and the "Commote," the former comprising the Newtown, the demesne, and also the mill of Cenarth with its lands, weir and fisheries; the latter all the lands outside these limits which retained the old Welsh customary laws. In "Dyffryn Teifi" there were apparently no distinctive names, nevertheless the difference is well-marked,—the Borough of Atpar and the Tirgwelyawc of Lodrepedran, Henllan and Bangor-Teifi[5]. From this date, the term Commote is employed in a twofold sense in the records of Emlyn, and in order to save confusion, we must henceforth write Commote when the word is used in its larger connotation and "Commote" when used in the narrower sense of patria or Welshry.

The rapid development of both the Newtown and Atpar as illustrated in the last Chapter makes it abundantly clear that the Welsh were no longer reluctant to live in towns. But whatever changes in feeling had been brought about in process of time, and however flourishing our towns may have been for a brief period, their subsequent history shows that they soon began to drift into a kind of backwater. This backward drift cannot be attri-

[1] *Bromley's Survey*, 1609.—Appendix to evidence given by Mr. Ed. Owen, Royal Commission on Land in Wales.

[2] *Black Book Survey.* See also *Ancient Churches of Llandovery*, pp. 217-219.

[3] *Trans. West Wales Society*, i. 146, note. *Black Book Survey*, 262-276. "Llandilo Vawr patria and Llandilo Vawr Villa".—Appointment by Earl of Carbery of Jenkin Lewis and John Lewis Morgan to be stewards of the Courts. 18 Dec., 17 Ch. i, 1641. (In Cilgwyn Archives.)

[4] *Cymmrodorion Record Series,* No. 7, vol. ii. *Cilgerran,* pp. 11, 41-50.

[5] There were two beds in Lodrepedran, one of which was called Gwely Du. The tenants of this land had to carry material for the five buildings—the Hall, the Lord's room, the kitchen, the stable, the grange from the Forest of Atpar to Llandygwydd. The holders of the one lectus in Henllan were Gruffydd ap Walter, Iorwerth ap Gruffydd, Gruffydd Lloyd and their co-owners. All give a cow as Commorth on the Kalends of May every third year. and they do all other services as the tenants of Lodrepedran. Elloyd ap Eynon, Wenllan

buted to unfavourable physical conditions, or to a remoteness which separated them from the larger life beyond. It was due to a wholly different set of causes. It happened that both vills were created boroughs right at the beginning of a period of general discontent, disquietude and depression in both the political and economic spheres, and that these conditions grew worse and worse as time went on. First came the unrest which broke out into open and, in some parts, formidable revolts. It would appear from the brief notices in the records that our Commote was not entirely free from ebullitions of feeling and stormy outbreaks, apparently against the local rulers and the English on the demesne. Then followed the awful ravages of the pestilential Black Death which visited Wales in 1349 and yet again in 1362 and 1369, and though the evidence is lacking in our manorial accounts it must be assumed that what happened elsewhere happened also in Emlyn uwch Cuch,—death wrought such appalling havoc among the inhabitants that there were not left half enough men to till the soil. The results were—scarcity of food for man and beast; extravagant demands for higher prices, and for higher wages where labour was procurable; attempted suppression of these demands and the consequent bad feeling; the abandonment of lands even on the part of free-tenants and the reversion of those lands to the lord who, for want of labour, was often forced to let them run out of cultivation. Finally, came the de-

verch Kedivor. Hunyth Gogh, Eynon Henllan. Iorwerth Gogh. David Goyg, Nesta Fawr and their heirs must mow the lord's corn at Atpar for three days. The mill at Henllan brought in 26/8, the pleas 13/4. At Bangor were four beds: (i) Gwely Enewris, holders of which are Llewelyn the Chaplain, Gruffydd ap Ieuan, and their co-owners; they pay 5/- at Michaelmas. (ii) Gwely Oyroñ Redewyth, of which the holders are Yweryth verch Gronou, Ieuan ap Richard, Res ap Gruffydd and their co-owners; they also pay 5/-. (iii) Oyron Cuelyn, the holders of which are Gruffydd ap Res, Ieuan ap Adaf and their co-owners; they too pay 5/-. They do services as at Lodrepedran and pay commorth of four cows on the kalends of May every third year. Ieuan ap Adaf. Ieuan Saer, Lleucu verch Knewrik, Lleucu verch Ieuan ap Meyler, Eva Hager. David ap Phillip. Nesta v Kedivor, Philip ap Meyler and their heirs ought to reap the lord's corn at Atpar for three days, he finding food=1d; and they also carry the corn, he finding food=1d. Two tenants hold a patch of land called Eskerrgard=4/-, and give commorth and services as the others. Amongst the protection tenants are Ieuan Sayrhir, Leucu verch Garth, Mabilla Du, Weyrvyll Vammayth.—*Black Book Survey.*

vastations of Glyndwr's Revolt and the untold miseries which followed in its wake,—all of which, as far as they touched our Commote and are recorded, will be described in a subsequent Chapter.

(i) *The Castle and the Newtown.*

Shortly before Robert de Acton[1] became Constable in 1314, William Martin, justice of South Wales, had certified after survey that the remedying of the defects in the structure of the Castle would call for an expenditure of £60; but the sum could not be spared and so the Close Roll of 1315[2] gives authority to spend only £40. Though the notice does not relate to the Castle, it had better be mentioned here that the revolt of Llewelyn Bren, lord of Senghenydd, against the exactions of Pain de Turbeville, steward of Glamorgan, had assumed a most serious aspect even at the beginning of 1316. A Welsh gentleman, of the line of Ednyfed, called in the Welsh pedigrees Sir Rhys Hen, and in the records Sir Rees ap Griffith[3], was commissioned to raise a company of able-bodied men in the Commote of Emlyn[4] and the neighbouring lordships to swell out the army of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who had been sent to put down the revolt. The exactions, which gave rise to revolts like those of Llewelyn Bren in Glamorganshire and of Gruffydd Llwyd in Anglesey, affected Welsh lords chiefly. Emlyn uwch Cuch being in the King's hands was asked to help the King's cause. The records do not say how many recruits Sir Rhys was able to procure in the Commote. He may have won over some of the English of the Foreign Bailiwick. But doubt may be expressed about his success among the Welsh. The country generally was in a state of ferment. What with the effects of the severe famine of 1314-5; the exactions and the opposition to them, which called forth the

[1] Orig. Roll, 8 Ed. II., m. 5. "During the King's pleasure."

[2] Close Roll, 9 Ed. II., m. 28; Cal. 241.

[3] Professor Ivor Williams in Appendix C (pp. 193-203) to his fine article on Dafydd ap Gwilym a'r Gler (*Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1913-4) has collected a large body of references in the records to Sir Rees and others bearing the same name. See also *Cymmrodor*, xxvi, p. 213 ff. *Awdl i Rys ap Gruffydd*, article by the same author.

[4] Patent Roll, 9 Ed. II, p. 11, m. 34; Cal. 433.

"Ordinances" of 1315; the personal greed of officials who spared not the Welsh; the fears caused by the depredations of bands of lawless men who roamed about the country, and the failure of the authorities to deal with them, feeling in the Welshries—all Welshries—ran high, —so high that the rulers never knew where it would not burst out into the flame of open revolt. Hence, when Geoffrey de Bello Fago was appointed Constable in 1316-7, the Chamberlain at Carmarthen was ordered to see that the Newcastle of Emlyn was properly provisioned and strengthened[1]. Four years later (1321)[2], something of the nature of a local rising was attempted. Nothing in the records of our Commote or of those relating to Cilgerran, Narberth, and Dinefor gives the clue to the direct cause, the location, and the extent of the "disturbance" as it is described. We simply know the fact, and that in March of that year William de Knovill[3], the Constable, was commanded to be in personal custody of the Castle of Emlyn, and to increase the garrison if he found it necessary. We gather that it was found necessary from the record which states that he was recouped for the extra expense incurred. These few facts taken together suggest that "All's well" could not be said of Emlyn and the surrounding country.

Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd[4] followed de Knovill in the Constableship of Emlyn, and during his tenure of office nothing of a noteworthy character seems to have happened. Hugh de Tyrpington came after him[5]. Neither he nor his agents could get much out of the Castle, the demesne, the Courts and fairs. By comparing the contents of Ministers' Accounts of 1326-7 with those of the Extent of 7 January, 1328[6], we learn that the Castle of Emlyn was worth nothing beyond reprisals, that the demesne of 24 acres brought in only 10*s*., the meadow under

[1] Orig. Roll, 10 Ed. II, m. 3; Close Roll, 10 Ed. II, m. 14; Cal. 392.

[2] Close Roll, 7 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 3; Cal. 73, but it refers to the time when De Knovill kept the castle.

[3] Pat. Roll, 12 Ed. II, p. 2, m. 10; Cal. 338; and Close Roll, 14 Ed. II, m. 10; Cal 291, See also Cal. 438 (1321).

[4] *Min. Acc.* 1220/3. 1326-7.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] 1220/5; I.P.M., 1 Ed. III, 80 (Extent 7th January, 1328).

the Castle 2*s*., the garden near the Castle 2*s*., the Courts and fairs 10*s*., the watermill of Aberarad 26*s*. 8*d*., the fulling-mill, also on the Arad, 7*s*., and pannage only 4*s*. The returns from the Courts and the fairs, also, tell a tale of decay—and this about 20 years before the Black Death was heard of. The political troubles at the end of Edward II.'s reign will not explain the "bad times" in remote Emlyn. Both the "Commote" and the demesne, and also the Newtown and the Borough of Atpar, exhibit the same symptoms.

(ii) *The "Commote".*

In "Dyffryn Teifi," the lands of the patria are specifically mentioned as tir gwelyawc[1]. In the "Commote" of Emlyn the "Welsh lands" are at this date described by the name of the commuted rents which their holders paid; thus:—"There are 6½ gwestvas in the Commote."[2] It is most unfortunate that, except in the case of Maenorvorion which has preserved the older term Maenor in its name, there is not the slightest hint in the records to help in deciding the situation of the gwestvas. Maenorvorion would still pay its gwestva or chief-rent; thus there may have been two gwestvas in each of the parishes of Llangeler, Penboyr, Cenarth, and the half may have been beyond the Forest in East Cilrhedyn which was served by the mediæval chapel called Capel Iwan[3]; but this locating of the gwestvas is pure conjecture and had best be left alone. By comparing the details in Minister's Accounts of 1302[4] with the Inquisition of 1328, we find that certain changes had taken place in the "Commote." Thus, in 1302 we are told that the Porthiant Cais was paid by "certain persons," in 1328 it was paid by all the tenants in the "Commote." In 1302 reference is made to the bond servants; in 1328, we are told that "no one held by homage or villeinage." The Court perquisites vary considerably, from £10 18*s*. 0*d*. in 1320 to £2 14*s*. 2*d*. in 1326, and in view of the returns from the Castle and the

[1] See pp. 39-40, note 5.

[2] Extent 7th January, 1328. Anian ab Willim's land is referred to in this record.

[3] Mentioned in the Inventory (1552), "St. John is Chaple": had "a chalice and a bell". Capel Ifan, in Rees' *Welsh Saints* (329).

[4] *Min. Acc.* 1218/1.

town and of the condition of Atpar in that year, as will be shown presently, this decrease should be carefully observed. There are signs of decay all round—in the "Commote," in the Newtown and in Atpar, and this decay was so serious that English tenants on the demesne in Emlyn and burgesses in Atpar were actually abandoning their lands. In order to explain the shortness in the revenue, the record of 1331-2[1] states that the lands of Emlyn were uncultivated and the tenants of Kenhard (Cenarth) had withdrawn themselves to England through poverty. The Accounts, of course, refer to the departure of the English during the year before. Who these English tenants were may be seen from the account rendered for the mill and weir of Cenarth for 1331. Whereas in previous years, from 1307 to 1327, the rent accruing from this mill came to £6 13*s*. 4*d*., in 1331-2 it had fallen to £1 3*s*. 3*d*. The remarkable feature about the removal of the English tenants to England is that the lands of the "Commote" were able to pay their "chief rents" and so were the burgage-tenements of the Newtown. And yet, something of a serious nature must have disturbed the Foreign Bailwick, for in 1332 the King ordered the Barons of the Exchequer to make an allowance of £40 a year to Thomas Blauncfrount the Constable and farmer "in the issues of the Castle and land of Hemelyn."[2]

(iii) *The Borough of Atpar.*

Between 1296 and 1328, the Bishop of St. David's was David Martyn, a descendant of Martin of Tours the conqueror of Cemeis, and a grandson, through his mother, of Rhys Arglwydd[3]. In 1326, Martyn commissioned Master David Francys, Chancellor of the diocese, to survey all his episcopal estates. The volume which contains the results of this investigation is known as the Black Book of St. David's[4]. In this Survey, Atpar, Dyffryn Teifi and Llandygwydd are styled Manors. At its best the Newtown of Emlyn contained only about 62 burgage-tene-

[1] *Min*: *Acc* 1220-6.
[2] Close Roll, 6 Ed. III, m. 23; Col. 468.
[3] Bevan's *St. David's*, 131.
[4] For this section see *Black Book Survey* (*Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 5). Intro. xx-xxvii. Text 36, 38, 219-227.

ments; in Atpar there were 96[1]. Like the burgesses of the Newtown, the tenants in Atpar paid 12*d.* a year at Easter and Michaelmas, rendering withal what may be described as mild services. They paid also a relief of 12*d.* when occasion demanded it, and on the alienation of their tenements they were charged a fine of 4*d.* They did suit at the lord's mill in Atpar—this mill is mentioned twice[2], —and at the Hundred Courts from 15 days to 15 days at one night's summons. The police officer, to use the modern term, kept the prisoners at his own risk. There were three "protection tenants"[3] in the borough, but unlike the Newtown of Emlyn, Atpar held no tenants in gross. Except in the case of two groups of co-owners, the ownership was individual, and it has been remarked that this was the only instance of individual ownership on the espiscopal estates in Cardiganshire. Atpar was not prosperous in 1326, for no fewer than 15½ of the burgage-tenements were in the lord's hands for want of tenants, that is, their former tenants having failed to sell or sublet had delivered them into the lord's hands, and the lord could find no one to take them up. Had the Survey been

[1] A burgage is said (p. 219) to consist of 1 ac. and 1 stang. Many of these burgage-tenements were aggregations of such burgages. An analysis of the Survey gives the following results:— One tenement of 15 burgages (i.e., 1 ac, 1 stang each); two of 12; one of 10; one of 8; two of 7; one of 6; two of 6½; one of 5½; four of 5; two of 4½; ten of 4; four of 3½; ten of 3; four of 2½; eighteen of 2; three of 1½; twenty-six of 1; four of ½ each. These were occupied. There were in the lord's hands for want of tenants, one tenement of 4 burgages; two of 3; one of 2; eight of 1; one of ½. These represent 20½ burgages and as there were 29 acres all told in the lord's hand, three tenants named together must have held the other 8½. Thus a rough estimate of the lands held as burgage-tenements=about 350 acres. In addition to these acres there are mentioned (i) 40 acres of forest; (ii) a common with some wood on it [Cf. Cwr Coed, Bryndiodde (Bryngoddeu)]; (iii) demesne lands; (iv) small plots held by the tenants for which they paid 1½d. and 1¼d. A small heath assarted (diswooded) had apparently been turned into a burgage. One burgage is named, viz. Crath (? Trath) Cregyn: perhaps Cwmbrwyn and Yr Ynyñ represent the names of two others, but Othnant is the Hodnant (Penbryn) of the Talley Abbey Inspeximus, 1324. *Arch. Camb.*, v. 37, p. 46.

[2] The Bishop paid 2s. a year to Eynon ap David and other tenants of Thomas ap Llewelyn for having a water course on their land to this mill.

[3] Ian Fox, Wenllian verch David, Roger servant of Matilda verch William.

dated 1331 or a little later, we might have conjectured that some of the English tenants of Atpar had joined those of Cenarth who had withdrawn to England because the lands of Emlyn lay uncultivated. As it is, only three English names occur amongst those who had given up their burgages, and there is no hint in the record to help in elucidating the problem. As we have already observed, the Court and fair fees of the Newtown also give evidence of considerable decay. A market was held every Saturday in Atpar and a three days' fair on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, but we have no means of deciding whether the fair was prosperous or not. The Survey gives a full list of the names of the burgesses and an examination of these names shows that of the principal holders the majority were Welsh. Gervasse (Iorwerth) the cleric held as many burgages as 15; John Legate and Griffith Vachuan held 12 each; Ieuan Tega held 10; David ap Ithel and Ieuan ap Bola held 7 each; David Voyl 6½; Ieuan ap Ithel 6; Llewelyn Lloyd ap Cadwgan, Roger le Long, Llew ap Adaf, Christina Sayr and Hunyth her mother as co-partners held 4 each. A comparison of the names in the Survey with those found in other records reveals the fact that some were tenants in Emlyn as well as in Atpar[1]. About 25 women are answerable for their burgages a comparatively large number—among them Maruith (Morfydd), several Evas and Nests, Leuca, Anharad, Duthgu, Veyruylt, Amy, Matilda, Mabilla Saysneys, Waldusa. There are about a dozen surnames which appear to be other than Welsh Revel, Peverel, Seys, Le Long, Peeche, Aunger, Cornwale, Cole, Wroth, Gylot, Russell, Val. The majority bear names which are unmistakeably Welsh and among them are Iorwerth, Kedivor, Kenewrick, Gwasmyhangel, Meyler, Gweythbergam, Traharn, Dun. Several of the names are descriptive—Meredith, Traharn and Veruylt are "Goch"; Iorwerth Cwta, David Voyl, Gwrgen Lwyd, Ieuan Penbwl explain themselves. A few are distinguished by a place-name—Llewelyn Othmant, John Combrwyn, William Yrynyn. Others are described by their occupations, such as the creth (shoemaker), the cobbler, the weaver, the miller, the turner, the merchant, the taverner. It looks as if

[1] See Chapter viii. *Loyal Tenants of* 1343.

Gruffydd ap Medic was the son of the doctor, and David Anchorita suggests either a hermit or one who lived like one. There is, however, no room for mistaking Gervasse, the cleric, and David, the chaplain[1], who held 4½ burgages. The former may have been what in modern speech we would call the Priest-in-charge of Atpar[2], the other his assistant curate. These were not the clergy of Llandyfriog. At this date Atpar was regarded as a part of the parish of Llandisiliogogo[3]. Llandyfriog was served by a Llewelyn, who ministered to the Welsh tenants of Lodrepedran. Gervasse and David ministered to the burgesses, and our conjecture about the existence of a church in the Borough of Atpar is substantially confirmed.

(iv) *Local Officials during the Fourteenth Century.*

Except during the troublous times when they were expressly commanded to be in personal charge of the Castle and its garrison, the great English lords holding directly from the Crown or the Prince of Wales, seldom concerned themselves with affairs in our part of the Teifi Valley. They were in the position of absentee landlords, and left the domestic government of the lordship to officials like the bailiff of the Englishry, the custodian of the Castle, the reeve of the town, and the beadle of the "Commote," the three latter being responsible to the bailiff or a locum tenens appointed by the lord. In 1333, the lordship was bestowed upon Lord Gilbert Talbot, the Justiciar of West Wales, for the term of his life "without rent"[4]—that is, the chief rents and the ancient dues payable to the Crown at the Exchequer at Carmarthen. Talbot, therefore, enjoyed all the revenue from the lordship, and this was collected by his bailiff—a notable Welsh gentleman living in the Commote. From documents relating to a much later period we learn that Atpar and "Dyffryn Teifi" were responsible through their portreeve and beadle to the Bishop's steward.

[1] Philip son of the chaplain is among those who had given up their burgages. This detail shows that some of the Welsh clergy at this date and on the Episcopal Estates were married.

[2] Probably he was non-resident.

[3] Introduction, *Black Book*, 38-9. The Bishops held an estate in Llandisiliogogo in 1808. Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 137.

[4] Pat. Roll, 7 Ed. III, pt. ii, m. 15; Cal. 476.

In the early years of the fourteenth century, the garrison of the Newcastle was in the charge of Englishmen like Nicholas de Pederton and John Monet (1316-17) and Stephen le Rede (1319-20)[1]. Curiously, the names of the reeves of the Newtown seldom appear. In 1315, John Flecher[2] filled the office and his name is certainly not a Welsh one. In the "Commote," Welshmen generally occupied the office of beadle, as can be seen from the following list :—Iorwerth Protyn (1303), Madoc ab Griffith (1301 and 1315), Ieuan Cutto (1307), Eynon ap Gronou (1319), Llewelyn ap Cadwgan (1320), Eynon ap Craddock (1332), Richard Harem (1390)[3]. These men, the Welshmen at any rate, were the gwyrda of the "Commote," the brëhyrion of Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse, freeholders par excellence, men of long pedigrees who could trace their descent from their ancestors without resorting to pitiful shifts and fictions. Speaking generally, even in the fourteenth century most of these gwyrda held lands only in one locality. But Commotes like those of Cemeis, Iscoed, Emlyn had witnessed great changes in the social order during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of the many contributory factors in the break up of the old system was the establishing of towns and "Foreign Bailiwicks" ; another came in the wake of native revolts like those in Emlyn under Meredith ap Rees. Both the lords and their more prominent adherents suffered the forfeiture of their lands as the result of their rebellion. That Richard Harem, apparently an Englishman, could have become the beadle of the Welshry of Upper Emlyn suggests that either his father or his grandfather had been settled upon forfeited tir gwelyawc. Further, some Welshmen, especially in the more Normanised parts, found that their interests were bound up with those of the conquerors. Though they remained thorough-paced Welshmen, they were "King's men" and fought both at home and abroad on the King's side. As a reward for their services, some of these obtained grants of land—parcels of the lord's demesne or of escheated tir gwelyawc —in lordships other than their own. Thus there arose a new class of gwyrda who held estates in two or more

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1219/1-2.
[2] *Min. Acc.*, 1219/4-5.
[3] The names occur in either *Min. Acc.* or *Inquisitions.*

lordships. As will be abundantly illustrated presently, owing to the increase of their landed wealth, their wider experience and superior culture, this class of Welshmen gradually became the real local rulers, filling the higher responsible offices in the place of their absent lords.

No apology is needed for the inclusion of the narrative which follows. It throws some degree of light upon individuals who played their part in the history of the Newcastle of Emlyn and who are but incidentally mentioned in our records, and in a measure helps to furnish the historical setting of one whose name, as the patron of our greatest mediæval poet, is a household word in Wales.

In the twelfth century and apparently in the parish of Nevern in the lordship of Cemeis lived a vigorous gwrda named Gwilym ap Gwrwared[1], a contemporary of the sons of Gruffydd ap Rhys Arglwydd—lords of Iscoed. He was a "King's man," held some land in Emlyn is Cuch in 1244, and in 1252 was "King's bailiff" over a part of the territory of Maelgwn lying around Llanbadarnfawr. Gwilym is reputed to have had eight sons, five of whom founded families whose names occupy a large space in the Welsh pedigrees. His son, Einion Fawr o'r Coed, was another "King's man." By his marriage with Eleanor Pratt of Llandudoch he established relationships with a town separated from Cardigan only by the Teifi. He it was who was left in charge of the Newcastle of Emlyn in 1287-8 with orders to munition it for the King. He probably incurred a great deal of expense in carrying out the order. If the view advanced in the Appendix (p. 112) is substantially correct, he is the Anian ab Wylim who obtained from Edward I. a large grant of what was probably demesne land lying in the Bargod Valley in Penboyr parish, and this land he bestowed upon his "sons and heirs" Gwilym and Griffith. The pedigrees mention another son of his, viz., Owen, and it is said that two other sons were killed by the "English of Carmarthen" in 1257[2]. His daughter, Gwenllian, married a member of the Mortimer House of Coedmore—Roger son of

[1] See Pedigree p. 57. Most of the references are given in the Appendix.

[2] Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 425.

Llewelyn, lord of Geneu'r Glyn in North Cardiganshire, whose grandson, Owen of Coedmore, sold Geneu'r Glyn to Ieuan Fychan of the Llawdden House of Morfa Bychan,—a fact recorded here merely on account of its bearing upon the history of the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym. Incidentally, it may be stated that Nest, Einion's niece, the daughter of his brother Gwrwared, married Gruffydd the father of the "Rees ap Griffith" who was commissioned in 1316 to raise troops in Emlyn uwch Cuch to fight against Llewelyn Bren.

Gwilym, Einion's eldest son, stands out prominently in the history of the lower Teifi Valley. Partly on account of his father's services during the disturbances of 1287 and 1292, and partly on account of his own strenuous character and services as a fighter in the King's army in France (the *fleur-de-lis* figured on his arms)[1], Gwilym was entrusted with the Constableship of Cardigan Castle. Edward Lhuyd tells the story, quoted in both the Peniarth MS. and Dwnn's *Visitation*, how Gwilym in his wrath slew the Irish of Pitchert for firing the house of his foster father. By his marriage with Elen, the daughter of Cadwgan Ddu, he acquired in due course the lordship of Towyn (Verwig) and Aberporth, and founded a Cardiganshire family whose members inter-married with the Houses of Iscoed uwch Hirwen, Coedmore and Morfa Bychan. Three of his sons held lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch,—Einion Fychan who held Geyadeston, a place which eludes identification, and Llewelyn and Griffith, who held the lands which Edward I. had given their grandfather, Einion Fawr o'r Coed.

Little is known about Griffith ab Wylim; a good deal is known about his brother Llewelyn. In 1343, a Royal Commission was appointed to receive pledges of allegiance to the Prince of Wales from his subjects. The tenants of Atpar as well as those of our Commote took the oath at the Newtown[2]. The Commissioners' Report enumerates

[1] "He (G. ab E.) got his arms in France which he quartered with his own, viz., gules a chevron between three fleur-de-lis, and in chief a lion rampant or." Quoted from *Lewis Glyn Cothi* (282) in Professor I. Williams' *D. ap G a'r Gler. Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1913-4.

[2] Inferred from a comparison of the *Black Book Survey* of 1326 with the list of the Loyal in the Report of 1343. *Arch. Camb., Orig. Docts.*, vol. i, clviii.

the chief of these loyal tenants. The first mentioned is "Lewelyn ab Wylim," who is described as locum tenens Domini Gilberti Talbot, as the Constable of the Newcastle and ballivus ville predicte, that is, the bailiff of the Foreign Bailiwick, which included the Newtown. Owing to his connection with the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym Gam the name of this all-important official in the lordship is well known in Welsh literary circles, but his official position has been over-exalted[1], and spite of the Iolo MSS.[2] he has been domiciled in a county (Cardigan) to which his activities as a man do not belong. He was probably in the heyday of his manhood before his father became lord of Towyn after the death of Cadwgan. It is most unfortunate that we have no contemporary evidence about Llewelyn other than the reference in the Commissioners' Report of 1343, and the allusions in the two fine poems—one a panegyric, the other a lament sung after his death by his nephew Dafydd ap Gwilym.[3] There is, however, a body of tradition, but it is exceedingly difficult to disentangle what is genuine in these traditions from mere inferences which the curiosity of centuries has drawn from the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and which in turn have been handed down as tradition. From these verses we gather that Llewelyn lived in his "Court" called Y Ddolgoch[4] in Emlyn, that is, in the valley of the Bargod in Penboyr, where the name still survives. Most of the traditions connect him with Cryngae in the same parish, not far from the present Llysnewydd and Dolhaidd. But the poet never mentions Cryngae. He associates Llewelyn with Dolgoch in Emlyn and Llysdyn in Cemeis. Llysdyn may have been part of the inheritance of Llewelyn as a member of the Coed family; at any rate, his association

[1] "Llewelyn ab Gwilym, Arglwydd Ceredigion." *Enwogion Ceredigion*, p. 15-16.

[2] "Llewelyn ab Gwilym Fychan o'r Cryngae yn Emlyn a'r Dolgoch yno." *Iolo MSS.*, p. 93.

[3] Pughe's *Dafydd ap Gwilym*, Nos. ccxxxi and ccxxxii, pp. 456-464.

[4] There is a Dolgoch in Troedyraur Parish; another, a burgage, in Atpar. The name survives in the Bargod Valley. For a full treatment of this question by a diligent investigator see Jones' *Hanes Llangeler a Phenboyr*, pp. 98-100. "Fo'th las i'th lysdeg yn Emlyn"; "Llyn i barc Emlyn"; "Lle twymlys llu at Emlyn" shew that the llys was in Emlyn; and neither Troedyraur nor Atpar is in Emlyn.

with the place was intimate, and the allusions in the poems suggest that he was the owner. We are now, however, concerned with the Emlyn possessions of Llewelyn. It would simplify the confusing references in the pedigrees to those described as of Cryngae, if the view could be upheld that the extensive lands defined in the Appendix (p. 56) originally belonged to Cryngae, that portions of this tract were known by such names as Velindre, Dolgoch, etc., that Llewelyn erected a mansion on the Dolgoch part almost within sight of the old but less dignified homestead of Cryngae. Thus Llewelyn could with propriety be described as both of Cryngae and of Dolgoch. From one of the poems we learn that the *fleur-de-lis*[1] graced the arms which Llewelyn had inherited,—a detail which goes to strengthen the belief that he was the son of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan Castle. He was a scholar and a linguist, was deeply versed in the language and the poetry of his own nation, himself a skilled poet to whose encouragement and instruction Dafydd ap Gwilym owed an ineffable debt of gratitude. He was a patron of bards, and his llys of Dolgoch was ever open to them. This is borne out by the traditions about a famous Eisteddfod held at y Ddolgoch[2] and the story of the bardic contest between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Rhys Meigen, the latter of whom is supposed to have fallen dead from the effects of his own coarse behaviour and ill-temper and the withering sarcasm of his rival.

Strangely enough, the records relating to the Castle, the town and the "Commote" other than the Report of 1343 do not once refer to Llewelyn by name. If he was appointed Constable and locum tenens soon after Gilbert Talbot acquired the lordship, as most probably he was, he must have occupied the various offices from about 1333. He was there in 1343, but how much longer is a matter of conjecture. It was during his Constableship that the report on the defects in "the King's Castle of Emlyn"

[1] "Yr oedd y fleur-de-lis yn arfau Llewelyn hefyd, medd englyn o'i farwnad a geir yn Peniarth 49.

Coeth edling fflowr dling dlis-oreuraid
Wared clochdy Paris."

—Prof. I. Williams' article, p. 94.

[2] Iolo MSS., 492. An English version is found in *Cambrian Journal*, ii, 270—1.

was made (1340).[1] The defects were plentiful and serious. The work of re-construction called for the expenditure of a large sum, and apparently this could not be spared from the Black Prince's Exchequer. On the death of Lord Gilbert Talbot or of Henry de Ferrars[2], to whom the reversion of the lordship had been granted, the barons of the Exchequer cast about for someone who would accept the Commote on condition of his putting the castle into a thorough state of repair. Richard de la Bere[3], Chamberlain to the Prince of Wales, accepted the conditions and the lordship was assigned to him on July 4th, 1346. The extensive repairs were done partly in 1347 and partly in 1348[4], and the grant was confirmed by the Black

[1] Harl. Roll, 7198. 13 Ed. III, 1340. The contents of this Roll, as far as they relate to Emlyn Castle may be summarized thus:— The walls were very poor and in need of repair and repointing. Two small towers 14 feet high, flanked the gate. The gateway was in such a bad condition that unless repaired soon the walls adjoining would fall into decay. Within the walls, a hall and two chambers at the end of it had been newly built; under the hall, etc., were a buttery, a pantry and a good cellar. This part of the edifice was well roofed with shingles, but the gutters were of wood. A kitchen (probably as in 1531, at the farther end of the enclosure) was covered with poor wooden shingles and thatch. The bakehouse and brewhouse (outside) were of no value. The castle was badly provisioned; no corn of any kind, no coals, but there were a tun of wine a year old, a tun of honey and two of salt. In the armoury were six acketons (?) of some value, four basinets, six good cross-bows, five hundred quarrells of no value, six shields bearing the arms of England, six lances, but no armour.

[2] Pat. Roll, 12 Ed. III, m. 15, 1338; Cal. 110 and Orig. Roll, 12 Ed. III; Cal. 127.

[3] Sir Rd. de la Bere was the son of Sir John de la Bere of Southam (39 Ed. III) who married Agnes, daughter of Sir Pain Turberville (Clarke's *Gen. Glam.*) His arms – figure of St. Lawrence with gridiron, beneath a tree. Both Richd. and John de la Bere are among the witnesses to a Deed of Settlement *re* Oxwich. 7 Jan., 1341, 14 Ed. III, (*Penrice and Margam MSS.* iv., pt. ii, p. 12). Apparently Richd. married Cicely, widow of William de Dermford of Todenham (*Cal. Pat Roll*, 1313—8; p. 282). From a note by Mr. Rhys Phillips, Swansea Public Library.

[4] Excheq. Q.R. a/c. 545/23 (1347) and 545/24 (1348). From these we learn that John Lucas supervised, that Richard Machon and John Bel the masons were paid 14d. for one week; that Adam cleaned stones and timber, Robert Sweteman made the mortar, 8d.; John ap David cleaned the sand, 4d. for 3 days; the girl who carried the water was paid 1d. for 1 day; Geoffrey quarried the stones, 8d.; Richd. Lioun carried the hod and during the second week Isabella and Joan carried the water for the mortar. Ieuan ap Eynon ap Grono Voil was one of the carpenters. For making a pick from iron found in the Castle

Prince on February 11th, 1348.[1] The works were not fully completed before the spring of 1349 when John Lucas was ordered to survey all that had been done "at the expense of la Bere." On May 23rd of the same year, the Prince granted the lordship and its castle to la Bere for the term of his life, without rent[2]; and it would seem that Llewelyn ap Gwilym's locum tenency came to an end about the same time. If the walls of the castle hall ever threw off alliterating echoes to the music of Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse, as is sometimes suggested, it must have been prior to this date; but the Castle at best was a dull, gloomy fortress, and it is not likely that Llewelyn and his bardic friends held feasts of wit in its dilapidated chambers[3], even had the lord granted them permission to do so.

We know nothing more about Llewelyn except the tradition concerning his tragic death. It is said that he was killed by a body of ruffians[4] from Pembrokeshire, and that both Dolgoch and Llysdyn were involved in a common destruction. Llysdyn can be left out of our consideration. Though Dafydd ap Gwilym's lament refers to it as empty and an arlloesdy, it does not seem to have been utterly destroyed.[5] The allusions to Dolgoch, however, indicate that something of a serious character had befallen the mansion itself, and it is significant that Llewelyn's descendants are never described as of Dolgoch but always as of Cryngae. In fact, the llys of Dolgoch disappears from all the records whereas both Llysdyn and

2d. were paid; for a shovel 1½d.; a key for the old gate. 2d. Lime was brought from Laugharne, 5/1; for seeking two masons in Swansea 2d. were paid; the blacksmith got 2d. for making 23 large nails for the bridge. Some one was paid for carving the "royal stones"; 600 large laths were brought from Glyn Cothi. The choicest item is that Robert the carpenter was paid 17d. only, because he did not come to his work 'usque ad horam gental'—until the genteel hour.

[1] Pat. Roll, 22 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 39; Cal. 9.

[2] *Min. Acc.* 1221/8; and Pat. Roll, 2 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 10, Cal. 349—Inspeximus and Confirmation of Letters Patent of Black Prince to la Bere dated 4 July, 1346 and 23 May, 1349.

[3] The hall was the only considerable room in the Castle—45ft. by 23ft. See Chapter vi (ii).

[4] "Gwilliaid o Saeson Penfro." *Iolo MSS.*, p. 93.

[5] "Un yn ysig
A'r llall, do gwall, yn dy gwag."
"Y llys fraith yn llaesu fry
A'r Llystyn yn arlloesdy."

Cryngae remain, and the men of Cryngae figure prominently in the history of our Commote during the next century. It is clear that Llewelyn cannot have died at the hands of men who were attempting a kind of Peasants' Rising, for at this date there were no villeins in the lordship[1], and the men of Cilrhedyn and Clydey—the nearest points in Pembrokeshire—were in the lordship of Emlyn is Cuch. Nor is there good reason to infer from the use of the word gwilliaid in the Iolo MSS. that Llewelyn was killed by a band of masterless ruffians. Dafydd ap Gwilym's awdl leaves quite a different impression. Its very phraseology,—the reference to the "Gwyr cedyrn gwag a'u ciwdawd," the helpless tone of the lines which speak of judgement—a judgement which results from the moral law "a laddo a leddir" and not by process of common law or by the dire vengeance of kinsmen,—all suggest that Llewelyn met his death at the hands of a powerful nobleman and his followers, and that the nobleman was too well befriended to be reached except by the judgement of God. It is not wholly improbable that the leader of the gwyr cedyrn in this case was de la Bere himself, who felt seriously aggrieved with Llewelyn and set upon him at y Ddolgoch[2], and if it could be assumed that the cause of the quarrel was the expense to which de la Bere had been put in connection with the castle or something arising out of the stewardship of the lordship, the fall of Llewelyn ap Gwilym must be placed nearer to 1349 than a much later date.

The story of Llewelyn ap Gwilym is charged with considerable interest. It does more than throw light upon the social conditions of the period. The relationship of Llewelyn with his brilliant nephew and the other bards shows that the love and the fostering care of the Welsh language, its literature, its poetry and its music were not

[1] Extent 7 Jan. 1328, I.P.M., 1 Ed. III, No. 80.

[2] The band no doubt came from English Pembrokeshire, and on the way sought Llewelyn at Llystyn where probably he was when they last heard of him. Had they been mere roaming ruffians, Llewelyn would have had the support of his fellow tenants and there would have been time to assemble them. Dafydd ap Gwilym's lament, however, conveys the impression that Llewelyn stood alone, and this can be understood if the leader of his assailants was the lord of the Commote. There is nothing in the awdl which suggests either the presence or the effects of the Black Death which visited Wales in 1349.

the exclusive possession of Welshmen in whose hearts hatred of English dominion was the ruling passion. The absence of the so called patriotic feeling in Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse is not due altogether to the poet's all-absorbing love of nature which left room for naught else. The traditions of the family from which he sprung, the atmosphere in which he lived, and had his being, shut out a patriotism which would force itself into disloyalty to the Crown. His people were "King's men," King's officials occupying posts in which "narrow patriotism" would spell treason. His kinsmen had been found consistently faithful on the King's side in Welsh revolts, and some of them were, in his day, fighting in the King's armies on the foreign field.[1] And yet it was this class of Welshmen that gave us the greatest of our mediæval poets, and also such a patron of our national poetry as Llewelyn ap Gwilym.

The rude church of Llawddog on the uplands of Penboyr was not deemed a fitting resting-place for Llewelyn. He was gathered unto his fathers in the Lordship Marcher of Cemeis[2] and perhaps was buried under the shadow of the Abbey Church of St. Dogmael.

APPENDIX.

The descendants of Gwilym ap Gwrwared in Emlyn.

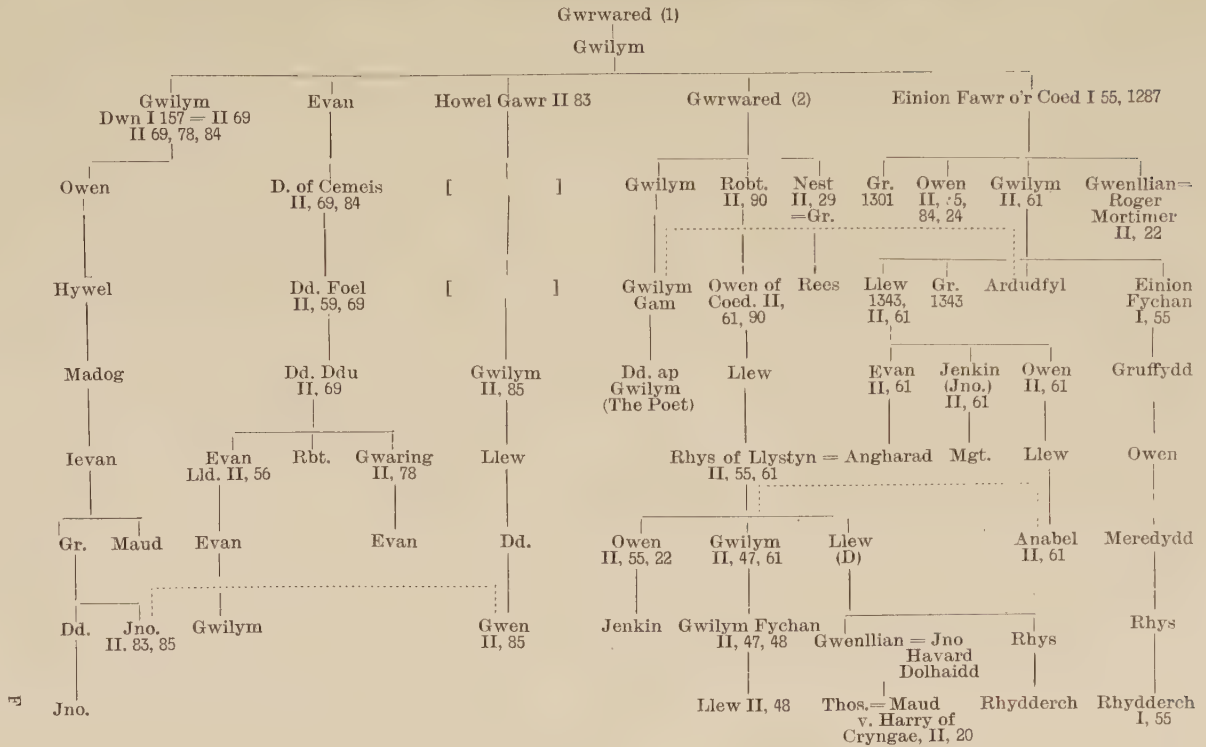
(i) Gwilym ap Gwrwared had eight sons. The pedigrees of the descendants of Einion Fawr, Evan, Gwrwared, Howel and Gwilym Dew or Ddu are found in the Peniarth MS., No. 156, as given in "West Wales Records," Vol. I. and II., quoted in this Appendix thus: I. 36, II. 29. Gwilym, the founder of this vigorous family-group, held some lands of the Earl Marshal in Pembrokeshire in 1244.[3] The evidence which follows makes it tolerably certain that these lands were situated in Emlyn is Cuch (Cilgerran). In due course these

[1] *D. ab G. a'r Gler*, pp. 94, 97-9.

[2] "Wyd Landudoch heno
Diwyd grair dan dywod gro."

[3] Lloyd's *Hist.* p. 711 note.

DESCENDANTS OF GWILYM AP GWRWARED (Peniarth No. 156 referred to thus—I 55. Dwn = D.)



lands, or the bulk of them, fell to the lot of Einion Fawr o'r Coed,—Gwilym's eldest son by his first wife, Jane or Joan daughter of Sir Elydr Stackpoole (II. 81, 83); at any rate, there are several names among the tenants of Cilgerran in 1288 and 1292 which suggest that their bearers were the sons of Einion, viz., Owen ab Einon[1], and Grufud ab Eynon, Lewelinus ab Eynon, Kedevor ab Eynon, Eynon Vachan—all of which appear in the "Lay Subsidies," No. 242/56, 1292[2], as holding considerable parcels in the Forinseca of Cilgerran, not in the Welshry. Among the jurors of 1292 is a "William Vachan" and amongst those of Chancery I.P.M., 1326[3], is a "Dd. ab Gwylim Vechan." These two latter names suggest a son and a grandson of Gwrwared ab Gwilym. Viewed in the light of the evidence given below, it seems fairly clear that some of those described as sons of Eynon were the sons of Einion Fawr o'r Coed. The pedigrees furnish abundant proof that Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan Castle, was Einion's son and that he had a brother named Owen (II. 24, 35, 82). In the Ministers' Accounts of 1301-2[4] reference is made to two grants of land in Emlyn uwch Cuch—(1) the land of Morgan ab Howel granted by Meredith ap Rees at 1*d.* yearly and (2) Anian ab Willim's land which had been granted by the King (Edward I.) at 12*d.* yearly payable at Michaelmas, and which at this date (1301) was in the hands of Willim and Griffith "sons and heirs of the said Anian ab Willim."[5]

Now Ennianus, Anianus, Einniaun, Eniaun, Anian, Einyon, Eynon are merely the Latin and the Welsh variants of the same name. Excepting in the "Accounts," no other example of the name Anian occurs in the historical records relating to Emlyn. It is not too great a strain upon our credence to accept the suggestion that the Anian ab Willim upon whom Edward I. had bestowed the lands either in 1287 or 1295 is Einion ab Gwilym or Einion Fawr o'r Coed who had rendered such faithful service during the revolt of Meredith ap Rees that he had been entrusted with the munitioning of the Newcastle for the King (see p. 18). This admitted, it follows that Willim, his son, is Gwilym,

[1] Chancery *Inquis.* Misc., File 47, No. 18, 1288.
[2] *Cymmrodorion Record Series* No. 7, vol. ii, p. 10-14.
[3] File 91, No. 22. [4] 1218/1, Emlyn. [5] *Min. Acc.* 1218/1.

the Constable of Cardigan, and that the other son, Griffith is probably the Grufud ab Eynon of the Cilgerran lists, and also that both of them held lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch in 1301-2.

Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan, had a son named Einion Fychan, who succeeded his father in the lordship of Towyn (I. 25), and he is probably the Eynon Vachan of the Lay Subsidies, and the Eynon ap Wylym who held lands in the Commote of Iscoed and lands called Geyadeston in Emlyn, which, as they were held of the Prince of Wales, must have been in Emlyn uwch Cuch.[1] There is not a tittle of evidence to show that Einion Fychan held any other lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch. It is, therefore, but reasonable to infer that his father's portion of the "land of Anian" was held by other members of the family. Who these were may be gathered from the Commissioners' Report of 1343. This Report twice mentions as tenants a Griffith ab Willim—in both Iscoed and Emlyn uwch Cuch, —and Llewelin ab Willim, the locum tenens of Gilbert Talbot and sub-Constable of the Newcastle. There is no proof, and no reason to search for it, that Gwilym and Griffith, the sons and heirs of Anian, had forfeited the land in Emlyn uwch Cuch inherited from their father. This land must have passed into the possession of men designated ab Willim, and there are no tenants on the lists of the Faithful in 1343 other than Llewelin and Griffith who could have held the land which Edward I. had granted Anian. There is therefore the highest degree of probability that Einion Fychan ab Gwilym, Llewelin ab Willim and Griffith ab Willim were three brothers—the sons of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan[2]. There is no difficulty about the description "Fychan" so often applied to Gwilym, the father of Llewelyn. All the grandsons of Gwilym ap Gwrwared I. called Gwilym would be known as Fychan, at any rate, as long as their grandfather and his contemporaries lived; but the outstanding prominence of Gwilym, the Constable, rendered it unnecessary to distinguish him always in this fashion,

[1] *Arch. Camb.* Orig. Doc., vol. i., clviii.

[2] Pofessor I. Williams (p. 9) gives the pedigree of Dafydd ap Gwilym Gam ap Gwilym ap Gwrwared II. from the Peniarth 128, and on p. 92 offers the suggestion that Gwilym Gam and Llewelyn of Emlyn were brothers. If Ardudfyl was the sister of Llewelyn, she would be also the sister of Gwilym Gam on this view.

and the same reason will explain why the short "Llewelyn ab Gwilym"—the Constable of the Newcastle, son of the Constable of Cardigan Castle—was a sufficient designation for Llewelyn.

(ii) The next problem is to identify the lands in our Commote held by the sons of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan. Geyadeston, held of the Prince, may have been got after the Prince of Wales acquired Emlyn uwch Cuch (p. 33). Careful enquiry has failed to identify these lands, which apparently bore the name of their former English tenant.[1] They may possibly have been part of those in Cenarth abandoned by the English tenants in 1331 (see p. 44). The "Anian ab Willim's land" must be the lands of Cryngae associated for several generations with members of this family-group. It would seem that Gwilym made his home at Cryngae before succeeding his father at Towyn; hence the "Gwilym o'r Cryngae" of the Iolo MSS. These lands may have been forfeited by the old free tenant for his part in the rebellion of 1287: but it seems more probable that they were demesne lands. No allowance on their account is made out of the gwestva as in the case of the portion of tir gwelyawc granted to the burgesses of the Newtown in 1307-8 (see p. 35), and the significance of the name Velindre (the tref of the villeins), a village on the banks of the Bargod, and of Llain y Brenin and Dolbrenin (King's meadow), near the Teifi, must be fully recognised. The grant of these lands to Einion Fawr and the conversion of the Castle lands into burgages explain the smallness of the demesne lands referred to in our manorial records. Another point that seems to confirm this is that none of the tenants of these lands are found in the lists of jurors in the enquiries into the customs of the "Commote." Dafydd ap Gwilym's verse is the only contemporary witness which furnishes a suggestion as to the extent of these lands. Though the poet never mentions Cryngae by name, it may be assumed that the homestead of Cryngae had been standing for many years before the Dolgoch; that Dolgoch was a new mansion probably erected by Gwilym, that plas in "a'r terfyn ym mhob plas" must be taken to mean a building, and that, therefore, the tract lay between the mansions Cryngae and Dolgoch and stretched down to Ffrydiau Henllan.

[1] Cf. Phillp Coreston: Commissioners' Report 1343.

—"lle beirw Teifi," and "lle chwyrn llwybr terfyn"—the line of demarcation between Emlyn and Gwynionydd.

(iii) There is no good reason for rejecting the statement of the Iolo MSS. (p. 92) that Ardudfyl, the mother of Dafydd ap Gwilym, was the sister of Llewelyn ap Gwilym and, therefore, the daughter of Gwilym, the Constable of Cardigan. A substratum of truth may underlie the tradition about the proud opposition of Gwilym to the marriage of his daughter with Gwilym Gam ap Gwilym Fychan ap Gwrwared II. It should, also, be noted that during the two first periods of his life the poet was befriended by those who had family connections with Gwilym the Constable. Gwenllian, a sister of Gwilym (and therefore the aunt of Llewelyn and Ardudfyl) married Roger Mortimer of Geneu'r Glyn, and it was their grandson, Owen, a contemporary of Dafydd ap Gwilym, who sold Geneu'r Glyn to Ieuan Fychan of the Llawdden House of Morfa Bychan, whom the poet eulogises as his first patron.[1] During the second period of his life, as is well known, the poet lived with his uncle Llewelyn ap Gwilym at Y Ddolgoch in Emlyn.

CHAPTER V.

The Towns and the "Commote" under the new English Lords.

(i) *The Lords.*[2]

The death of Richard de la Bere on September 20th,

[1] Peniarth MS. No. 156, ii, 22. and Prof. Ivor Williams' article *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1913-14, pp. 84-87.

[2]

Sir Simon Burley — Sir John Burley

Isabella=John Hopton — Roger

[ ]

John, d. 1428

Walter

William, d. 1445

Thomas

Elizabeth=Roger Corbet of Moreton — Walter, d. 1461

1380[1], gave Richard II an opportunity of rewarding his old tutor, Sir Simon Burley, for his many services, of which not the least was the bringing of Anne of Bohemia to this country. It seems that in order to defray his expenses in connection with the latter service, Simon Burley had been obliged to sell all his lands in Suffolk. Richard, as Prince of Wales, had already bestowed the Castle of Llanstephan upon Burley (1377-8). In March, 1382, he gave Burley the Lordship and Castle of Emlyn uwch Cuch for life[2]. In May, 1382, the grant was enlarged and in the following November a fresh charter conveyed him the whole "in fee simple." He was licensed in 1386 to alienate the lands, except in mortmain, to whomsoever he willed[3]. Thus Burley became the new English lord of Emlyn uwch Cuch in the fullest sense of the term. But his tenure was brief. The Lords Appellant brought a number of charges against him and other favourites of the King in the Merciless Parliament of 1387. Sir Simon was beheaded on May 5, 1388, and his estates were confiscated. The Lordship of Emlyn once again reverted to the Crown, and the following noblemen held it for brief terms—John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, to 31 December, 1389[4]; Thomas Percy to 20 December, 1390[5]; John Ayxhell from 1391—the length of tenure cannot be ascertained[6]. About ten years after the death of Sir Simon, the King made strenuous efforts to get some of his escheated estates restored to his family[7], but the King himself was deposed in 1399 and the suit of Sir Simon's nephew, Sir John Burley, failed in the case of most of the estates. He had, however, secured Emlyn uwch Cuch, for the Inquisition of 1428-9[8] states that he died on November 9, 1428, seized of the Lordship and Castle leaving his rights therein to William, his son and heir. Sir William, however, did not enjoy the whole of the

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1222/3.

[2] Pat. Roll, 5 Rich. II, p. ii, m. 27; Cal. 101.

[3] Pat. Roll, 5 Rich. III, p. ii, m, 111. Cal. 118, May, 1382. Pat. Roll, 5 Rich. III, p. ii; Cal. 206, Nov., 1382. Pat. Roll, 9 Rich. II, p. ii, m. 39; Cal. 96, 1386.

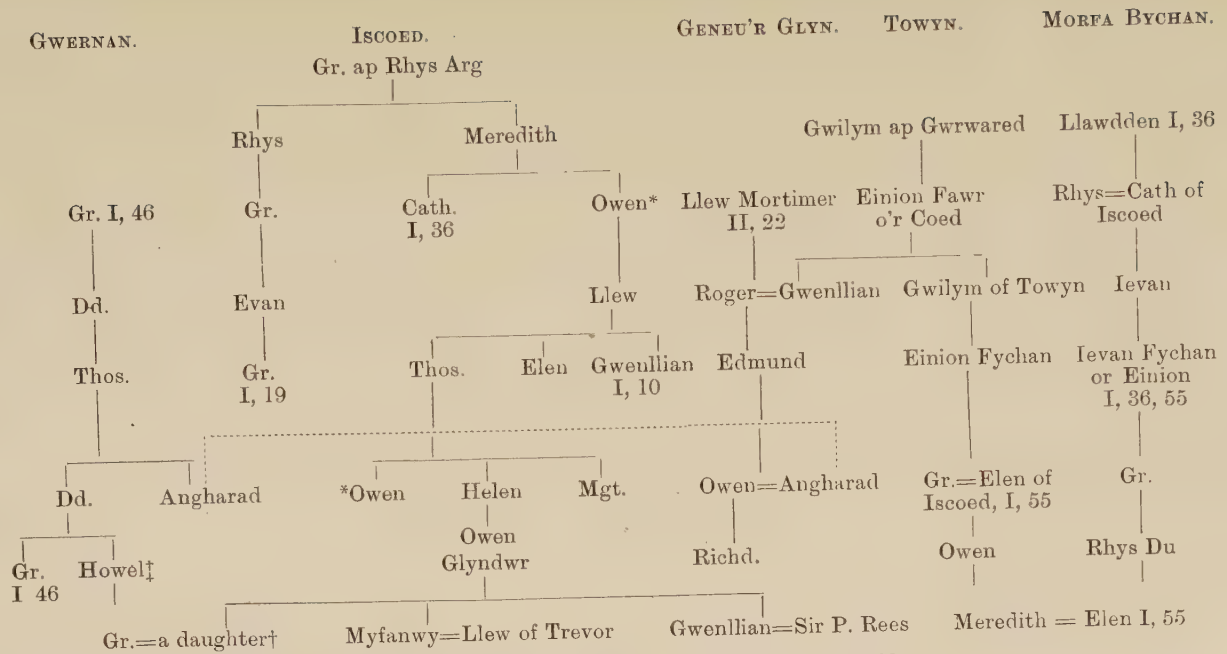
[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1306/5. 1389-90.

[5] Pat. Roll, 14 Rich. II, p. ii, m. 3; Cal. 413-4; also Inspeximus 1 H. IV, p. iii, m. 14; Cal. 110.

[6] Pat. Roll, 1 H. IV, p ii, m. 15; Cal. 68; and m. 13; Cal. 148.

[7] *Arch. Camb.*, vi, vii, Pt. i, p. 113.

[8] I.P.M., 7 H. VI, 32.



Peniarth MS. 156, as in *Trans. W. Wales Hist. Soc.*, referred to thus—I, 46; II, 22.

* Dr. J. E. Lloyd in *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cym.*, 1918–9, p. 138; also I, 55, but in I, 10, Llew is ap Meredith ap Owen.

‡ "Hywel ap Dafydd of Gwernan," Glyn Cothi's *Dervel Iscoed*. In II, 57 Agnes is daughter to Gr. ab Holl Dd. Thos. of Gwernan. In *Cym.* xvi, 26 James is ap Gr. ap Howell ap Dd.

† Mem. of O. Glyndwr. *Hist of Anglesey*, p. 77.

revenue, for in Ministers' Accounts 1443-4[1] we find that Margaret Burley held dower lands in the Lordship, partly in the "Commote" and partly in the town. These were delivered to Sir William the following year (1444-5)[2], but he died before the year was out—December 2, 1445, and his rights passed to his heir Thomas Hopton, one of whose ancestors had married a daughter of Sir John Burley.[3] He also is said to have died in 1461 seized of the Lordship[4]; but the times were out of joint. The country was in the throes of the Wars of the Roses. Those who claimed to have inherited the traditions of Dinefor did not lose the golden opportunity which offered itself for the recovery of estates formerly in the possession of the descendants of Rhys Arglwydd. Griffith ap Nicholas, the most vigorous representative of those traditions, ousted Thomas Hopton from his Lordship of Emlyn, and the Inquisition of 1461 states somewhat pathetically that Walter Hopton, the son and heir, dared not approach his patrimony. And it seems that when Walter died, his heir, viz., his sister Elizabeth, the wife of Roger Corbet of Moreton, suffered a like indignity and loss. The documents from which we have hitherto drawn most of our information come to an abrupt end, and when we next hear of the Lords of Emlyn uwch Cuch, they are not of the House of the Burleys and Hoptons, but of Abermarlais and Dinefor.

(ii) *Glyndwr's Rising and Emlyn uwch Cuch.*

The rising under Glyndwr is sometimes compared with that of the Peasants in England. The Ordinances of 1315 are clear evidence that, like their brethren in England, the Welsh peasantry as well as the free-tenants were burdened with excessive services, and the Black Death had created new problems. But Glyndwr's rising was not a Peasants' rising.[5] It was a rising of Welsh chieftains in the first place and of peasants only as willing or unwilling followers of their lords. Later, it assumed the

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1168/4. [2] *Min. Acc.*, 1168/5.
[3] I.P.M., 23 H. VI, 22. 1446.
[4] I.P.M., 1 Ed. IV, No. 42. 1461.
[5] "The Welsh rising was in origin a rebellion in favour of King Richard, dead or alive, against King Henry." . . . . . "Under Glyndwr's guidance it became also a Welsh national struggle." Professor T. F. Tout, *S.D.C. Mag.*, June 1889, p. 167.

character of a national movement fired by national sentiment and aspiration, but even at this stage it was practically confined to the Welshries. The "Foreign Bailiwicks" were the sufferers.

Being of a comparatively late origin the Foreign Bailiwick of Upper Emlyn was occupied chiefly by men of Welsh blood. It was "foreign" merely because the tenants therein held their lands by English and not by Welsh custom. We should, therefore, expect to find both the Foreignry and the Welshry of Emlyn uwch Cuch almost entirely on the side of Glyndwr. The facts, however, do not justify the expectation. There were also local circumstances which brought Glyndwr's influence very near to the people, especially the bonedd of Atpar and Emlyn uwch Cuch. The Commote of Iscoed uwch Hirwen and the greater part of Gwynionydd-Iscoed acknowledged Glyndwr as overlord. This tract of land covering the parishes of Llanfair-treligen, Troedyraur, Bettws Ifan, Bryngwyn, and perhaps Upper Llandygwydd, had passed from Gruffydd ap Rhys Arglwydd to his descendant Owen ap Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owen, who died about 1355, leaving his estate to his sisters Helen and Margaret. The former became the wife of Gruffydd Fychan ap Madog and her interests in the estate fell to the share of her son, Owen Glyndwr.[1] Further, one of Glyndwr's illegitimate daughters was married to the heir of Gwernan, Troedyraur[2], and although no proofs are forthcoming it looks as if John ap Llewelyn, of whom more hereafter, had also married into the same family. Gruffydd ap Einion Fychan of Towyn, John's cousin, was married to Elen, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Owen of Iscoed[3], and the mother of Richard Mortimer of Coedmore was a daughter of Gwernan.[4] Moreover, the House of Towyn was regarded as the head of a number of related families which

[1] Prof. J. E. Lloyd's *Owen Glyndwr: His Family and Early History. Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1918-9, p. 138.

[2] Bradley's *Owen Glyndwr* (p. 306) states that Gwenllian, daughter of Owen, married Phillip ap Rhys of Cenarth, but *Memoirs of Owen Glyndwr* (Ellis' *History of Anglesey*, p. 77) say that Gwenllian was the wife of Sir Phillip ap Rees of St. Harmon in Radnorshire, and that a daughter, unnamed, was married to the heir of Gwernan. The apparent discrepancy is explained by the fact that there is another Kennarth—a hamlet in the Parish of St. Harmon. (Lewis' *Top. Dict.*)

[3, 4] See Pedigrees, p. 63.

held considerable lands in both Emlyn is Cuch and Emlyn uwch Cuch. It is true that hitherto the traditions of most of these families, and especially those in Is and Uwch Cuch, were not favourable to rebellions of any kind, but no one could say as yet which side they would espouse in what was soon to become a national movement.

Up to the beginning of 1403, no revolt on a large scale in favour of Glyndwr had broken out in South Wales. "The Diocese of St. David's had barely been touched by the insurrection."[1] Before the end of the first fortnight in July, however, all the important towns of Carmarthenshire except Kidwelly had been sadly mauled in the fierce talons of Glyndwr's Red Dragon and burnt by its fiery breath. At the beginning of July, Glyndwr himself was in the Tywi Valley—at Dinefor on July 2nd, Llandovery July 3rd, Dryslwyn July 4th, Carmarthen July 5th and 6th, and St. Clears soon after.[2] From this point, he found it expedient to turn his back upon an army of Pembrokeshire men under the leadership of Sir Thomas Carew[3], and retrace his steps to Carmarthen, whence he suddenly disappeared to re-appear quite as suddenly in Glamorganshire. The order of the "visitations" in the Tywi Valley seem to indicate that Glyndwr reached Dinefor, not by way of the old road from Strata Florida, Ystradffin and Llandovery, but along the valleys of the Teifi and the Cothi—the latter being the country of Llewelyn ap Griffith Vaughan of Caio, who was hung and quartered at Llandovery in 1401 in the presence of the King and the Prince of Wales "because he was well-disposed to the said Owen Glyndwr."[4] Glyndwr does not appear to have visited his patrimony of Iscoed on his march into the Tywi Valley[5], but if he himself did not, the narrative given below furnishes sufficient proof that a body of his trained followers, augmented by the tenants of Iscoed uwch Hirwen and led probably by a trusted lieutenant accustomed to his leader's method of attack, fell upon the Newtown of Emlyn and wrought

[1] Prof. T. F. Tout, *Owen Glyndwr, S.D.G. Mag.*, June 1889, p. 171.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[3] Bradley's *Owen Glyndwr*, p. 191-2.
[4] W. Llewelyn Williams' *Adam of Usk. Cymmrodor* xxxi, p. 137.
[5] Apparently nothing is known about Owen's movements in June (see Tout's Article in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xxi, 431.

unspeakable devastation therein and around. The fact of the assault is sufficiently well authenticated. The tradition of the famous Gwiber Emlyn and the rhigwm of the "Bells of Emlyn" will furnish the colouring[1] and the Manorial Accounts the details concerning the results and after-effects of the attack.

As has already been said, in 1403 Emlyn uwch Cuch was in the possession of Sir John Burley. His locum tenens or steward was a John or Jenkin ap Llewelyn.[2] It is fairly safe to assume that he was one of the sons of the famous Llewelyn ap Gwilym and the father of Margaret mentioned in the pedigrees, and that he was put in charge of the Foreign Bailiwick and the Castle either by the Burleys or by the Crown when the Lordship reverted to it on the execution of Sir Simon Burley. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the strong belief in the loyalty of this family than the fact that spite of the Ordinances of 1401 (viz., that no native was to be justice, chamberlain, sheriff, constable or keeper of a castle) this Welshman was left in the charge of the Newcastle. The elder brother, Evan[3] or Ieuan ap Llewelyn ap Gwilym of Cryngae, remained loyal; John or Jenkin betrayed his trust.

On the Feast of St. Barnabas in June, 1403[4], when one of the two annual fairs of the Newtown was being held, a great body of Glyndwr's followers appeared upon the scene. Judging from a hint in the story of the Gwiber, it seems that they did not approach through Atpar but crossed the Teifi from Iscoed somewhere in the neighbour-

[1] See Appendices A and B.

[2] The custodian is not named in Ellis' *Orig. Letters*, 2nd series, vol. 1, 17-19. "Gwynionydd" in his *Hanes Castellnewydd* (p. 34) gives the name, but on what authority the present writer does not know. Ieuan, Evan, John are variants of the same name, and Jenkin (Siencyn) is the diminutive of John; but the pedigrees give Evan ap Llewelyn ap Gwilym and Jenkin ap Llewelyn as distinct persons (Dwn's i, 162. Peniarth, as in p. 57).

[3] He was probably advanced in years at the time.

[4] It could not have been the November fair; for Archdeacon Kyngeston's letter to King Henry IV, written from Hereford, is dated 8 July, 1403. "And ot on Fryday last Kermerdyn town is taken and brent and the Castell yolden (yielded) be Ro. Wygmor, and the Castell Emelyn is y yolden." 50 persons were killed at Carmarthen; the number killed at the Newtown is not stated.

hood of Cenarth[1] and marched under the Red Dragon along the Carmarthenshire side of the river. By adopting this plan, they avoided the perilous work of forcing a way across the bridge and were able to attack the undefended part of the town at the rear. The devastation wrought in the town shows that the inhabitants offered a most determined resistance, for about half the houses were destroyed before the castle could be reached.[2] It is said that the custodian of the castle surrendered his charge without showing fight, and as his name is found among the "gentils" with Glyndwr at Dinefor[3] and he was later declared a "rebel," there are substantial grounds for the belief. If the interpretation of the tradition about the Gwiber's visit to the castle as given in Appendix A is near the mark, it suggests that Glyndwr's men planted their standard on the castle wall and completed their work of cattle-lifting and burning the homes of loyal tenants, one of whom, an Englishman on the demesne, suffered worst of all. But the day of retribution came. The evidence may be meagre, but we may gather from the tradition of the Gwiber and the facts in the next section that Sir Thomas Carrew either sent or personally led a body of Pembrokeshire men to the Newtown. The moot point is the date. It may have been before the meeting with Glyndwr at St. Clears on July 10th, but the objection to this date is strong. Had the castle been in Carrew's possession at the end of June, the probabilities are that

[1] They apparently crossed under Penwenallt at the head of the Cenarth gorge. Mrs. Miller (sister to the Rev. Eilir Evans) said that when she was a child she was afraid at night to pass the old tollgate under the lands of Gelligatti "O achos fod y wiber wedi mynd y ffordd honno."

[2] In I.P.M., 7 H. VI, No. 32, 1428-9, the jurors say that the "said Castle is in ruins and worth nothing yearly. And there is in the said Commote a certain borough devastated and almost entirely destroyed by the recent rebellion of the Welsh". They further testify that only 30/- accrue from diverse burgages in the borough. Thus, giving due allowance for exaggeration, more than half of the holdings must have been devastated. The jurors also stated that the payments of the Courts came to only 20/- in 1428. They were falling steadily during the period 1409-19, sometimes reaching such low figures as 8/1, 6/11, 3/11, 8/8.

[3] "Jenkin ap Llewelyn, William Gwyn, Thomas ap David, and moni other gentils be in person with Owen". Letter of Jankyn Havard, Constable of Dinefor Castle. Quoted in Bradley's *Glyndwr*, p. 191.

Glyndwr's army would have passed on to the Newtown of Emlyn before making for Dinefor. Whether before or after July 10th, Carrew's men reached the Newtown to eject the revolters from the castle. They beseiged the rebels, who appear to have held out for a time, and at last shot down the Red Dragon which must have been blown outside the walls, flung it contemptuously into the river, and finally took the stronghold. And if the date was after July 10th, they did the work the more quickly, because local gentlemen, like John ap Llewelyn, and the more vigorous tenants of Iscoed were at the time with Glyndwr in Glamorganshire.

The names of two local gentlemen connected with the revolt are given in one of the records, and they afford an illustration of the manner in which families were disrupted by their sympathy with or their antipathy to the aspirations of Glyndwr. Glyndwr's daughter, as we have seen, was married to the heir of Gwernan, and we may assume that he was a supporter of his father-in-law and overlord; but James Howel[1], apparently of the same house, fought on the King's side. John ap Llewelyn, representing at least three generations of loyal "King's men," became a rebel, and met with swift judgement, for all his lands "in the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen" were forfeited. Apparently he was the only person of note in Emlyn uwch Cuch to suffer on this account; anyhow, his is the only name recorded in the extant documents. What led him to break off from all the traditions and interests of his family cannot be conjectured, unless he, also, was allied by marriage with the House of Iscoed or of Gwernan.

Thus spite of local influences, of the defection of John ap Llewelyn, of the havoc and the burning, of their Welsh blood and feeling, the tenants of Emlyn uwch Cuch in the main remained steadfastly loyal to the King. What they would have done later when Glyndwr's rising in the South assumed a more national aspect cannot be guessed.

[1] Pat. Roll, 5 H. IV, p. 2, m. 19; Cal. 390-4. "Grant for life to the King's Esquire James Howel, in reward of his labour in the King's war in those parts, of all lands within the Lordship of Newcastle in Emlyn and the Counties of Pembroke and Kermerdyn, late of John ap Llewelyn, one of the Welsh rebels (value 20 marks yearly) forfeited to the King on account of his rebellion."

By that time, however, the castle was secure and the King's interests were fully safeguarded.

The castle having been regained was soon provisioned and the garrison strengthened. In September, 1403, the Sheriff of Worcester and others were instructed to send victuals to replenish its stores.[1] Between this date and April, 1404, additional men at arms and archers were stationed there, for Sir Thomas Carrew was refunded the expense of their maintenance.[2] About this time, there was a change of superior officer of the garrison, and Rustin "of the Newtown" with archers and men at arms was appointed to take over the duties hitherto performed by Carrew.[3] The garrison in 1405 was large. It consisted of at least 10 lancers and 50 archers.[4] Owing to its position, the castle was considered of great importance as a centre from which soldiers could easily reach the disaffected parts of South Cardiganshire—chiefly Iscoed. It is interesting to note that the forfeited lands of the "local adherent of Owen Glyndwr," viz., John ap Llewelyn, had been assigned to James Howel for life on condition, not of the payment of the usual rent, but of his "finding an archer there to defend the country,"[5] which is reminiscent of a much older practice.

The activities of Glyndwr's partizans in the district seem to have been confined to the year 1403. During that period they caused much devastation in the country around. As we have seen, the Newtown was practically destroyed, and like so many other small towns, it never recovered during the Middle Ages from the effects of the shattering blow. It languished until it ceased to be thought of as a borough. In the absence of evidence, it is difficult to estimate the extent of the damage done in Atpar. Whatever destruction it suffered was soon rectified, for it never lost its status as a borough until about the middle of the eigtheenth century. As to the "Commote" of Emlyn, it is not altogether safe to gauge the harm done in 1403 by the decayed rents of 1407, when the returns become available once again. A general de-

[1] Rot. Via. 4 H. IV, m. 23; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 297.
[2] Acts of Privy Council. E. Nicholas, vol. i, 220.
[3] Pat. Roll, 5 H. IV, p. ii, m. 20 Cal. 43. May, 1404.
[4] Pat. Roll, 6 H. IV, p. ii, m. 29. Cal. 6. March, 1405.
[5] Pat. Roll, 5 H. IV, p. ii, m. 19. Cal. 390.

pression followed in the wake of Glyndwr's Revolt. The country at large suffered. The condition of both the agriculturists and the townsmen was deplorable. For a long period—over a quarter of a century—the manorial records are filled with tales of arrears, of decayed and respited rents.

(iii) *The after-effects of the Revolt in Emlyn uwch Cuch.*

In 1423-4[1], the beadle of the "Commote" was Llewelyn ap Rees ap Llewelyn ap Oweyn. He appears to have been the Llewelyn o'r Cryngae of Dwnn's *Visitation*,[2]—the son of Rhys ap Llewelyn of Llysdyn and Angharad, the daughter of Evan (Ieuan) ap Llewelyn ap Gwilym. Twenty years later (1443-4)[3] we find Llewelyn acting as the farmer of the tenements in the "Town of Newcastle" and the lands in the "Commote" which had been assigned as her dower to Margaret, the widow of John Burley, and we gather from this that, spite of the defection of John ap Llewelyn in 1403, the family of Cryngae was still in favour with the lords of the Commote. In 1423-4[4], the Welshry of the Commote was £234 17*s*. 6½*d*. in arrears—a vast sum if multiplied twentyfold in order to arrive at a modern estimate. William Bannowe, who farmed parts of the Castle demesne, could not fulfil his obligations, for his lands, quite near the town, had been "devastated by the Welsh," that is, by Glyndwr's followers, and it shows how complete the devastation had been when it was held to be a reasonable excuse for non-payment of rent twenty years later. The late beadle, Prytherch ap Robyn, was also in arrears to the tune of £14 11*s*. 6*d*., and he was given five years in which to clear off his debts. Another beadle owed £7 10*s*. 2¾*d*., and he was given only one and a half years. The sum-total of respited rents came to £181 8*s*. 11*d*. The town, also, now called Newcastle[5], was in arrears amounting to £36 9*s*. 5½*d*. One of the townsfolk was an artist, viz., Lewis Peyntour, and he paid off 14*s*. 8*d*. of his arrears by painting "divers pictures" in the Castle Chapel of Carmar-

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1166/12, 3 H. VI.
[2] Dwn's, i, 162.
[3] *Min. Acc.*, 1168/4.
[4] *Min. Acc.*, 1166/12.
[5] The Welsh probably had always called it Tref-castell newydd a name occasionally heard even now in the country.

then and in the King's Exchequer there. Such artistic labours merited a nobler recompense of reward, for it was not a case of touching up the works of older masters. It is expressly stated that Lewis the Peyntour of Emlyn "made" the divers pictures. Llewelyn ap Robyn, Llewelyn ap David, and Owen ap David Colby are named as being in arrears in respect to town holdings. By the end of the next year[1], when Griffith ap David was beadle, the arrears of the "Commote" had fallen to £199 5*s*. 4¾*d*. Thomas Walter, the steward, had held 13 Welsh Courts in the "Commote" during the year, and it is interesting to note that the rent or fine (whichever it was) called Digot[2], about which there was considerable enquiry in the Stuart Period, is referred to for the first time. Philip ap Gronou, reeve of the "Town of Newcastle," rendered his statement of account. The arrears were £35 12*s*. 5½*d*. The total rents came to only 74*s*.; 2*s*. were paid for the half acre of meadow below the castle and the fairs brought in 23*s*. 4*d*. Apparently, there were no burgesses in gross at this date. William Bannowe, Owen ap David Colby (late reeve), and Llewelyn ap Robyn are again mentioned as burgesses, and from this date we know next to nothing about the townsfolk of Newcastle Emlyn during the Mediæval Period, and what is true of Newcastle Emlyn is true also of Atpar.

These few facts, dry and jejune, as they appear to be, are after all full of human interest. The arrears weighed

[1] *Min. Acc.*, 1166/13.

[2] The farm-name Dygoed, Dugoed is common. In some cases it may mean "dark wood", but the evidence which follows shows that in most instances it means "land cleared of timber" (assarted). In the Emlyn uwch Cuch Records (I.P.M., 9 and 10, Ed. IV, 21, (1469), and *Min. Acc.*, H VII. No 1650) Decoid is an area of land. In Exchequer Dep. 6, ch. i, Mich. No. 1, Emlyn uwch Cuch, John Morgan of Llandilo Vawr, Clerk, deposed that he was brought up near Dygoed Mawr, formerly called Yr Allt Fawr and that this land was "diswooded land", digoed meaning to uproot, diswood and take away timber. He referred also to Dygoed Ddu and Dygoed Velen in Llandilo Vawr Parish. Ed. Lloyd of Llangyndeirne and Philip Havard, Clerk, of the town of Emlyn, explained the word in the same way. Another deponent said that in Emlyn no tenant was allowed to cut down and uproot timber without leave. If he did so, he was fined 10/- for every timber cut down, and 39/2½ for every oak dragged from the roots. Another deponent said that the free-tenant had the right. Digoed therefore meant (1) a fine, (2) rent of land diswooded, (3) the land itself.

heavily upon all classes of tenants in the Lordship, the more heavily because in those days there were no means of making wealth quickly. All tenants—burgesses as well as the others—lived upon the produce of their own land and it was hard enough to live without having to cope with arrears. Glyndwr's rising left a heritage of depression and distress for over half a century. The economic conditions had had barely time to improve before the Wars of the Roses brought fresh troubles upon an already stricken land. It is true that the struggles between Yorkists and Lancastrians were mainly struggles between parties of gentry, but their armies were not armies of "officers without men." Tenants were still compelled to follow their lords, and the land was deprived of proper attention. How far these internecine conflicts affected our Lordship cannot be measured. As we have already seen, force of arms brought the overlordship of the Commote into Welsh hands, but whilst many men from the Commote must have followed Griffith ap Nicholas even into England there is no reason for believing that there was any fighting in the town and under the walls of the castle.

APPENDIX A.

Gwiber Castell newydd Emlyn.

The well-known legend of Gwiber Castellnewydd Emlyn is undoubtedly a genuine local tradition and interpreted in the light of the facts given below it is of considerable historical importance. It tells how on one of the fair-days when the town was thronged with sellers and buyers, a fierce "winged viper," breathing forth fire and smoke, alighted on the castle-walls, and having cast threatening glances around, settled itself down to sleep; how its appearance on the castle wrought consternation and wild terror in the bosom of all; how after the first spasms of fear had subsided, a few brave spirits among the townsfolk sought to destroy the fearsome monster, but failed until a soldier devised the plan of wading the river Teifi to a point of vantage on the castle side, of letting a red cloak float with the sluggish stream and shooting the

gwiber in a vulnerable underpart of the body; how the creature, so violently startled from its slumber, caught sight of the cloak, fell upon it with horrible shrieks, and tore it to shreds, whilst its assailant escaped to a place of safety; how in its death-throes the reptile turned upon its back and floated down the river ejecting from its wound a most loathsome venom which polluted the water and killed all the fish; and finally, the legend tells of the uproarious joy of the townsfolk and visitors when they saw the vile monster dead. These are the salient features of the traditional story in all the variants which differ but little except in unimportant details.

When we remember the lively fancy of the Welsh and their natural fondness for explaining origins, it is curious that not one of the variants of the story attempts to say where the gwiber came from. Nothing more is said than that it sailed over Dolbrenin—part of the demesne on the Carmarthenshire side. Not one of the variants suggests that the monster did physical injury to the town or its inhabitants, and it must be confessed that this apparently militates somewhat against the interpretation which follows. The most noteworthy and significant feature of the variants, however, is that they concentrate attention upon the terror which the sleeping dragon inspired and upon the exuberant joy of the townsfolk when deliverance came. This point neutralises the effect of the absence of all reference to damage done by the monster. The story cannot be traced back to the mythological period; on the other hand it cannot be as recent in origin as some are disposed to think. Shorn of its fanciful accretions, and the wonder is that they are so few, the tradition enshrines historical facts.

Though obviously deriving from the same source as the English word viper, gwiber is used in parts of the country as synonymous with draig, a dragon. The writer's father, a native of Llangiwc, Swansea Valley, rarely employed any other word for dragon, and Bardd Glas Morganwg in his Dictionary (1826), sub voce gwiber, gives "Sarph hedegog neu ddraig"; so also Owen Pughe. Those who wish to hold as old folk held in "Gwynionydd's" day that the story is *gwirionedd pur* may consult the writings of the sixteenth century scientific scholars for a full and detailed description of a dragon. For those who

have outgrown such "scientific truths," it will suffice to suggest that Gwiber Emlyn was a banner with a large dragon blazoned thereon.

Now, the gwiber appeared on the castle walls. The castle was not built before 1240. It appeared on a fair-day when large crowds were present in the town. Tref-castell existed before the conversion of its lands into burgage-tenements in 1303, but it did not exist before the castle. No fairs were held in the Newtown before 1307, when the tolls are given in the records for the first time, and they could not have been held without a permit from the lord the Prince. The two fairs in the Newtown were that of the Feast of St. Barnabas in June and that of the Feast of St. Martin in November, and they are not heard of before the date mentioned. Thus the tradition about the gwiber could not have been created before the beginning of the fourteenth century.

There were only three periods when the Red Dragon could have floated on the castle walls. (i) That of Meredith and Rhys (1240-87); (ii) that of the later Welsh lords of the House of Dinefor (strictly 1461 to 1531); (iii) a period between these two when the castle had been seized by rebels carrying the Red Dragon as their standard. The Red Dragon on the castle during (i) and (ii) would have spelled, not terror, but protection to the townsfolk, for it was the banner of the rightful lords. But there was no Newtown before 1303 and certainly no fair. The townsfolk would not have dared shoot down the Red Dragon of their rightful lords; they had every motive for respecting it.

The castle endured two sieges or series of sieges after 1287: (i) at the time of Glyndwr's Revolt, and (ii) during the Civil War. (The taking of James ap Howel in 1530 cannot have involved a siege proper, and even if it did, the banner was that of Rice ap Griffith.) The Civil War period can be ruled out without further discussion, for no local Puritans carried the "Red Dragon." The only period left is that of Glyndwr. His standard was the Red Dragon on a white ground. His followers attacked the Newtown during the June fair; the date agrees with that of Archdeacon Kyngeston's letter to the King, and also with the dates of the attacks upon the other towns in Carmarthenshire. It is obvious that the story of the

Gwiber has reference, not to the first phase of the struggle, i.e., the capture of the town by Glyndwr's sympathisers, but to an incident in the second phase—when Carrew's men regained the castle from the rebels; hence the *sleeping* dragon; it had probably been there for some weeks; hence also the absence of all reference to the damage done by the dragon. In view of the facts given in the text about the devastation wrought in the town by Glyndwr's men, the fears caused by the sleeping dragon can well be understood, so also the rejoicing of the townsfolk at the discomfiture of the "monster."

The curious will find a short form of the story in "Gwynionydd's" *Hanes Castellnewydd yn Emlyn* (p. 68), and a more elaborate version in Eilir Evans' *Rhyddiaeth a Chan* (p. 283), but the latter's infectious humour hardly fits in with the tragic sufferings of the townsfolk. The terror inspired by the events of those June days can best be realised by remembering their effects upon the town and neighbourhood. An English version from the pen of the Rev. D. Ambrose Jones, Kidwelly, will be found in the *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society* (Part xxxviii, p. 52).[1]

We wonder whether or no the name of the "King's man" who first threw the historical facts into the poetic mould of a ballad, and thus created and popularised the "legend" will ever be discovered. As has already been shown (pp. 52, 56) the poets of Emlyn uwch Cuch were "King's men," and within about 50 years of his death, the spirit of Llewelyn ap Gwilym may still have been hovering about the banks of the Bargod stream. The ballad, which we suppose gave birth to the legend, must have lived long after the true facts had been forgotten, and it is not impossible that a seventeenth or even a sixteenth century version may yet come to light.

[1] Also *Welsh Folk Lore*, by Ceredig Davies (p. 228). Eilir Evans, however, belonged to a local family whose members were deeply versed in the traditions. In a letter to the present writer, the Rev. Ambrose Jones calls his version "an imaginary story".

APPENDIX B.

The Bells of Emlyn.

Ding dong bell e,
Tair cloch Clyde,
Tair cloch our (aur)
Ym Mhenboyr,
Tair cloch arian
Yng Nghilgerran,
Lladd a llosgi,
Yng Nghastellnewy,
[1] Llefen a gweiddi
Yn Aberteifi,
Uch, och
Yn Llandudoch.

The ding dong of bells,
The three bells of Clydey,
The three golden bells
In Penboyr,
The three silver bells
In Cilgerran,
Killing and burning
In Newcastle Emlyn,
Weeping and lamenting
In Cardigan,
Sighing and groaning
In St. Dogmael's.

This rhigwm, which the writer has entitled the Bells of Emlyn, is an undoubted folk-song handed down from a comparatively remote past[2]. Less than 70 years ago it was commonly sung as a lullaby by the Lower Teifi Valley mothers and as "play rhymes" by their children. The version, which heads this Appendix, used to be sung by an aged woman, now dead, to her little grand-daughter who is yet a child of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ years, living just outside Newcastle Emlyn. The lines which speak of the bells of Penboyr and Cilgerran are known to a large number of people, in fact, the one which refers to the bells of Cilgerran is quoted in Phillip's History of that parish (p. 61); but the rhigwm in its completeness is not so generally known, and as can be seen from the variants given below, some of the old folk have clean lost the meaning of the second line, and some, in defiance of the natural order in which the names of the towns should come, have transposed Newcastle Emlyn and Cardigan.

It may be that the enquiry as to the distribution of the rhigwm has not been extensive enough[3], but as far as it has gone, it reveals two points: (i) That the lines are best remembered in Emlyn uwch Cuch and in the Cardiganshire parishes lying adjacent to it; (ii) that in the upland parishes of South Cardiganshire, on to the sea, the lines do not seem to be known except in families, one of whose

[1] "Weeping and loud lamenting".

[2] It is true that Penboyr appears in the mediæval records as Penbeir, but record forms are conservative. This represents the folk-speech.

[3] A large number of friends assisted the writer in his enquiries.

members came originally from the Teifi Valley, Emlyn or Cemeis. For instance, a farmer living near Aberayron was fond of quoting it to his children, three of whom are now clergymen, but he was a native of one of the Cemeis parishes bordering on Emlyn. Again, Mr. T. Davies, Gelligatti, heard it in the neighbourhood of Aberystwyth, but from a servant born in Emlyn. The first version learnt by the writer was recited to him by Mr. D. R. Davies, Printer, Newcastle Emlyn, who got it from his mother. It was subsequently found to be lacking in some respects, but it inspired an investigation which brought many others to light. Of these, the first heard was the one which heads this Appendix. Some of the variants give "dwy gloch" for "tair cloch"[1]; in the second line we have "Cloch yng Nghlyde," "Canu clyche Clyde," "Canu cloch a chledde," "Canu cloch a chlyche"; some put Aberteifi before Castellnewy, but one of the variants which has "Lladd a llosgi yn Aberteifi" has "Tasgu tan yng Nghastellnewy"; for "Llefen a gweiddi" we have "Screchen a gweiddi," and for "Uch, och," "Duch, doch yn Llandudoch." A Cilgerran variant omits the reference to Castellnewy, but inserts "Tinc y badell yn y Bridell," and a variant heard in Cwm Morgan, East Cilrhedyn, has "Tair cloch leder yn Llangeler." These references to Bridell and Llangeler, however, do not appear to have belonged to the original, for as heard by the writer, the variants in which they are found omit altogether the more serious allusions to the killing and the burning.

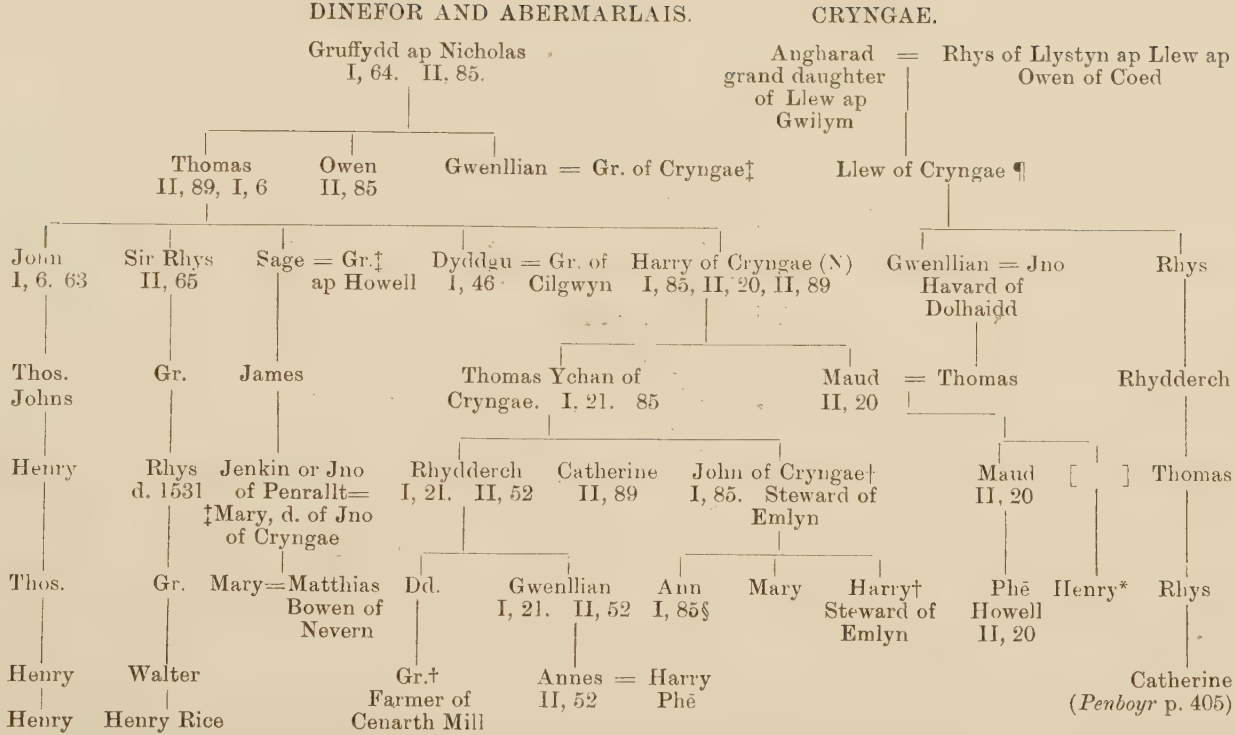
An examination of the "internal evidence" discloses the following features:—(i) The only bells mentioned in all the variants are those in the Cantref of Emlyn; (ii) In what we may call the true versions only those bells are referred to which are found at the three points of a triangle comprising the greater part of the Cantref[2],—Clydey, Penboyr, Cilgerran; (iii) With the exception of Cardigan, all the place-names in all the variants are on

[1] Mrs. Miller, "Eilir's" sister, told the writer that when she was a girl she was given every proof that there used to be three bells in the cot of the "old" Clydey Church.

[2] Llanfyrnach parish is in Emlyn, but had natural boundaries been accepted, it should have belonged to another lordship. The versifier probably wished to say "The length and breadth of Emlyn", but was restricted by the exigences of rhyme.

the left side of the Teifi ; (iv) In all the complete versions are named the three towns—Newcastle Emlyn, Cardigan and Llandudoch. Only one person seemed to have perceived that, though sung merrily by children in their games, the rhigwm is reminiscent of a tragedy, and only one connected it with an historical event and suggested the alarm created by the news of the landing of the French at Fishguard.

Now in the majority of the variants, the killing and the burning took place in Newcastle Emlyn, and no interpretation can be accepted which does not attempt to explain this. (1) The first thought which presented itself to the writer was that the original rhigwm had reference to the death of Llewelyn ap Gwilym. The men who killed Llewelyn came from the Llystyn, and on their journey to Penboyr probably passed through Clydey and East Cilrhedyn ; and we can well understand how the death of a son of the Lord of Tywyn would send both Cardigan and St. Dogmael's into mourning. But the onslaught on Llywelyn was a small affair, and the slaying took place at Y Ddolgoch in Penboyr, not in Newcastle Emlyn. (2) During the constant fighting at both Cardigan and Newcastle Emlyn in the years 1644-1645 there were occasions when there might have been much weeping and wailing in all the towns named in the rhigwm ; but there was only one occasion when the " lladd and llosgi " in the town of Emlyn could have perturbed the towns at the mouth of the Teifi, viz., the battle on April 27th, 1645, when Gerard utterly routed the Parliamentarians besieging the Castle of Emlyn (see Chapter VII.). Immediately after this disastrous defeat, the Parliamentarians abandoned Cardigan Castle and Gerard marched from Newcastle Emlyn to Haverfordwest. Assuming for the moment that the allusions in the rhigwm are to the state of feeling in Cardigan and St. Dogmael's after Gerard's great victory, we would have expected the rhymes to be better known in Cardigan and Llandudoch than in the neighbourhood of Newcastle Emlyn, whereas the truth is that they are better preserved in Emlyn uwch Cuch and that part of the Teifi Valley in which Newcastle Emlyn lies. Further, why should the bells of Emlyn alone fling out their message? Why not those of the parish churches of the Cardiganshire side of the Teifi as well? (3) The allusions in the rhigwm best



Peniarth MS. No. 156 (*W. Wales Hist. Records.* i and ii) referred to thus I, 64 ; II, 85. ¶ Dwn. i, 163.
‡ Book of Golden Grove. B. 301 and Dwn. Table by W. Llewelyn Williams, *Cym.* xvi, p. 26.

§ In I, 85, Anne is daughter of John Thos. ab Harry of Cryngae, but in *Cym.* xvi, 28, she is grand daughter of Thos. ap Rhydderch of Cryngae. Thos. ap Rhydderch. however, was of the old Llystyn family.

† Depositions 3 Ch. 1, Mich. No. 47. * For "Havards of Dolhaidd" see Jones' *Hanes Llangeler a Phenboyr* 404-6.

fit in with the attack of Glyndwr's men upon the Newtown of Emlyn, which was known to the Welsh as Tref Castell newydd. The bells on the right of the Teifi—those of Iscoed uwch Hirwen, would not send out alarms on that occasion, for as we have seen, this tract formed part of Glyndwr's estate. When the news of the slaying and burning in the town of Emlyn reached Cardigan and St. Dogmael's there would naturally arise a great volume of weeping and loud lamentations, for Glyndwr's treatment of towns like Cardigan and St. Dogmael's, having in them monastic houses not of the Franciscan Order, was merciless in the extreme.

This attempted explanation of the origin of the rhigwm is merely offered as a suggestion. It is not urged that the rhigwm was composed in the fifteenth century, but that the contents of it are reminiscent of events which occurred in the fifteenth century. If the interpretation is near the mark, the "Bells of Emlyn" together with the legend of the Gwiber helps to furnish colouring and impressions which the bare facts of the records do not and cannot give. It also strengthens the supposition that the story of the Gwiber was likewise handed down by means of a folk-song, and suggests that possibly both the rhigwm of the Bells and the ballad of the Gwiber were the productions of the same local versifier. Indeed, it is not impossible that the "Bells of Emlyn" represents a portion of the ballad of the Gwiber.[1] Owing to the popularity of *Eilir's* Story of the Gwiber, it is too late in the day to settle the question whether or no the area in which the Gwiber legend is handed on as folk-lore is coterminous with that in which the rhigwm of the Bells is remembered.

CHAPTER VI.

The new Welsh Lords.

The utter poverty of the tenants in both the Foreign Bailiwick and the "Commote," the hardships resulting from the strict enforcement of the law relating to arrears,

[1] Appendix A was completed before the rhigwm was discovered.

the consciousness that those arrears were due to causes beyond their control, had no doubt created in the bosoms of the tenants of Emlyn a strong feeling of resentment against the absent Burleys and Hoptons; and it can be well conceived that Gruffydd ap Nicholas' high-handed measures in ousting the latter were welcomed throughout the whole Lordship. Both Walter Hopton[1] and Gruffydd died in February, 1461[2],—the latter at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, fighting on the Yorkist side under the banner of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the overlord of Emlyn is Cuch. The fact of the alliance of Gruffydd with the Earl of Pembroke supplies the explanation of his success in the seizure and retention of Emlyn uwch Cuch. The usual survey[3] of the Commote followed the death of Walter Hopton and in this it is stated that his sister Elizabeth was the next heir, but spite of the declaration that the legal ownership was vested in Elizabeth Corbet she does not seem to have enjoyed any of her rights. In 1462, Emlyn is Cuch was bestowed upon William Herbert "for his good behaviour against the Lancastrians."[4] It is not said that Gruffydd's heir, Thomas ap Gruffydd, was given Emlyn uwch Cuch for a like reason. There is, however, no doubt about his retention of the Lordship.

Thomas had welded the power of the Houses of Dinefor and Abermarlais by his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Gruffydd of Llansadwrn. He seems also to have adopted a well-considered scheme with regard to Emlyn uwch Cuch. His sister Gwenllian married Griffith of Cryngae[5]. A natural son of his, Harry, is described as of Cryngae, his mother probably being sister to Griffith. Dyddgu, one of Thomas' daughters,

[1] I.P.M., 1 Ed. IV., No. 42.

[2] *Cymmrodor*, xvi, p. 4.

[3] I.P.M., 1 Ed. IV, No. 42.

[4] Pat. Roll, 1 Ed. IV, pt. iv, m. 16. Cal. 114. He was made Earl of Pembroke after the fall of Harlech, 1468. Died 20 July, 1469 (I.P.M., 9 and 10, Ed. IV, No. 21): executed at Edgecote after the battle.

[5] See Gen. Table, p. 80. At a much later date members of the old family are found in Cilrhedyn. Fenton (pp. 490—4; edit. 1811) states that he knew William and Maurice Morgan of Blaenbylen who claimed descent from Llewelyn ap Gwilym.

married Gruffydd of Cilgwyn[1], a representative of a branch of the family of Gwernan, which apparently had held lands in the Borough of Atpar since 1326. Another daughter, Sage, became the wife of Gruffydd ap Howel, the heir of Gwernan itself. Thus Thomas established his children in the ruling houses around Newcastle Emlyn—in Cryngae in Emlyn, in Cilgwyn in Atpar, in Gwernan in Gwynionydd-Iscoed. As in the past, so now, the influence of the Cryngae family in the Commote became supreme. John of Cryngae was steward of Emlyn in the time of Sir Rhys ap Gr ap Sir Rhys Thomas, and his son, Harry, in the time of Sir Thomas Johns, and it is not improbable that the first Harry of Cryngae and his son, Thomas Vychan, had filled the same office in the days of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. Atpar was under the dominating influence of the early Llwydiaid of Cilgwyn, and there is

[1] It may be that Griffith Vachuan who held 12 burgages in Atpar in 1326 was the founder of this family of Cilgwyn. The mansion of Cilgwyn in Atpar, representing "Old Cilgwyn", and the farm Cilwen in Emlyn (referred to in *Dep* 16 June, 1630) stand within sight of each other on the opposite sides of the Teifi. Much ingenuity has been expended in trying to explain the masculine adjective in the name Cilgwyn, and one conjecture is that Old Cilgwyn was a cell or a grange of Whitland Abbey (Hen Dy gwyn), suggested perhaps by the knowledge that in the Cilgwyn Archives is a draft lease[1] signed by William, last Abbot of Whitland, and that Kilgwyn Bach in Llangeler belonged to the Lloyds (Indent. 29 May, 1700). But the draft-lease, 8 Aug. 30 H. VIII, relates not to Cilgwyn but to Dolwydra in Maynorvorion. There is no reference in any of the records to a grant (by the Bishops of St. David's) of lands in Atpar to the monks of Whitland. All the evidence shews that the Cilgwyn Estate is an aggregation of burgage-tenements in the Borough of Atpar, and that Old Cilgwyn was literally surrounded by burgage-lands not held by the Lloyds even in the seventeenth century (Rolls of 1670—80). Further, as we have already seen, Old Cilgwyn was in the hands of laymen in the fifteenth century, that is, a century before the Dissolution. The name Cilgwyn is apparently a shortened Cil . . . gwyn, the second element having dropped out. Near the site of the old mansion are (i) Park Gwyn; (ii) Tyr Clun gwynne—the old name for the lower division of Blaennant Farm (Lleine Blaennant y Collwyn in one record); (iii) Cwm gwyn, the little dell through which runs the brook feeding the fish-pond. Tyr y Kilgwyn and Tyr y Clun gwynne are found together in a Chief Rent Roll. Cilcwm names are not uncommon. Possibly, Cilgwyn is a shortened Cilcwmgwyn, which would exactly represent the position of the old mansion.

[1] Also another signed by the last Abbot of Strata Florida.

every reason for believing that they played a large part in the preservation of its character as a borough.

After the death of Thomas ap Gruffydd's older sons, Morgan and David, his estates fell to the celebrated Sir Rhys ap Thomas. His story need not be repeated here. Comparatively little is known about the history of Emlyn during the period of Sir Rhys. We may assume that in the victorious efforts which placed Harry of Richmond on the throne, the men of Cenarth, Newcastle Emlyn, Penboyr, East Cilrhedyn and Llangeler joined those of Dinefor and marched through Llandovery to Bosworth Field, and there rendered a good account of themselves. It was probably after 1485, when honours had been thickly showered upon him[1], and lands, some of which he had held with doubtful legality, had been confirmed to him, that Sir Rhys ordered the restoration of his Castle of Emlyn. For there is no reason for discounting the testimony of Leland that the castle was "repaired or new builded bi Syr Rhese ap Thomas."[2] The popular notion that Sir Rhys pulled down the greater part of the structure and used the material for the erection of a smaller edifice may, however, be dismissed. The castle front and some of the interior buildings may have been partly reconstructed by him, but the foundations are to-day no smaller than when they were originally laid, and the character of the site is such that they could not have been larger at any period.

Sir Rhys' eldest son, Gruffydd, predeceased his father (1521) and when the old lord himself died in his 76th year, his estates, but not his offices, passed to his grandson Sir Rice or Rhys ap Gruffydd[3]. He was barely out of his teens at the time. Only a year before, he had married Lady Katherine Howard, daughter of the second Duke

[1] In Peniarth, No. 156, (*W. Wales Records*, i, 65) Sir Rhys is described as Lord of Cayno, Llansadwrn, Cilsant, Emlyn, Chygyrwen, Newtown, Cilkennin, Aberaeron, Llanrhystyd, Clygyn, Arberth, Llangybi, Gwybli, Llanddinor and Nangle Most of these lordships are easily recognised. For Chygyrwen, see *Cartae et Mon. de Glamorgan*, 2156, Survey Roll of Kegerwen Manor, 19 Ap., 1610. The name Wauncaegurwen is, therefore, a corruption of Gwaun Kegyr Wen.

[2] "New Castel alias bi the old name Elmelin almost on the very banke of Tyve (Teifi) but in Cairmardinshire, repaired or new builded bi Syr Rhese ap Thomas." L. T. Smith's Edit. *Itinerary*, p. 57.

[3] The story of Sir Rice is borrowed entirely from "A Welsh Insurrection", by W. Llewelyn Williams, *Cymmrodor*, xvi, 1-93.

of Norfolk—a strenuous and ambitious young woman to whose assertiveness Sir Rice, no doubt, owed some of the troubles which befell him. His grandfather's offices were bestowed upon Walter Devereux, who now became Justice and Chamberlain in South Wales. Between the ambitions of his inexperienced wife and the bitter jealousy of the new justice, Sir Rhys eventually found his way to the block. There were abundant trivial causes for the quarrel between the youthful Welsh lord and Walter, Lord Ferrars, and matters reached a crisis in 1529. In June of that year, the Justice came to Carmarthen to hold the Great Sessions. Sir Rhys was the bailiff of the town. The trouble began over the lodgings for the Justice's men. A violent scene occurred in Carmarthen Castle between the Justice and Sir Rhys in which daggers were drawn. The upshot was that the young Welsh lord caused proclamations to be read in the churches in his lordship bidding the tenants come to Carmarthen. The names of the chief of these from Emlyn uwch Cuch have been preserved, viz., Sir Hugh Gwyn, Rector of Llangeler[1], Gitto ap Evan ap Llewelyn[2], and Dafydd ap Rees, yeoman. Many of the tenants, especially from Narberth, hurried into the town of Carmarthen on the day after the proclamations and demanded the release of their lord who was now in custody in the castle. Ferrars charged both them and their lord with fomenting rebellion. The cause was tried in London in November, 1529, with the result that both Lord Ferrars and Sir Rhys were severely reprimanded. Between November, 1529, and October, 1530, the young Welsh lord lived peaceably in Islington, then a fashionable quarter. But his best friend, Cardinal Wolsey was dead, and the savage temper and fears of old King Henry were being played upon by designing men. There can be no doubt that egged on by his wife, Sir Rhys cherished strong feelings of resentment, and it is not improbable that in the privacy of his chamber he had given utterance to words which could easily be construed to imply that he harboured thoughts of rebellion. But there is not the slightest proof that he ever went beyond the

[1] Sir Hugh was presented to Llangeler by "Rhes ap Thomas Knyt., Order of the Garter, lord of the lordship of Emlyn Uwch Cuch", after the death of John of Kidwely. Feb. 8, 1514. *Episcopal Registers.*

[2] The name suggests Cryngae.

bare suggestion. He was arrested and thrown into prison. His servant was suborned to distort his master's indiscretions of speech. The chief witness, however, against him was James ap Griffith ap Howel[1] of Castell-Maelgwn, Cilgerran,—a kinsman, a "Welsh uncle," his mother being the Sage, daughter of Thomas ap Gruffydd, already mentioned above. James ap Griffith was summoned to London, but at this stage he was most reluctant to give evidence and he therefore refused to obey. The King's order to Lord Ferrars to apprehend him states that he had disobeyed sundry letters and commandments, and that eventually he had "fortefyed himself in the Castle of Emlyn." The Justice was bidden to raise forces to take the castle and to find men for the purpose in both South and North Wales. This order to find so many men was the measure of the magnitude of the King's fears of rebellion rather than of the body of the tenants of Emlyn who had followed James into the castle. Probably the number of men with James was very small, for in a short time he was taken prisoner by James Leche, sometime Mayor of Carmarthen, but not before personal injury was done to William Vaughan of Cilgerran who assisted in the work of capturing the contumacious Welshman. Among James Howel's friends are mentioned Thomas ap Rhyddderch of Cryngae, David Vaughan and David Meredith of Kidwelly, although it is not suggested that any of these supported him at the Castle of Emlyn. At the trial of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, witnesses from Narberth stoutly denied that any revolt had even been thought of, but James ap Griffith having been bought over, turned King's evidence, confessed to something of the nature of a plot, and Sir Rhys was sent to his death. As confirming the innocency of the doomed man, James ap Griffith dared not return to Wales but spent a miserable existence on the Continent for many long years. At last, far advanced in age, worn out in body and soul, troubled with poignant pangs of conscience, and full of a desire to confess his

[1] He apparently held lands in Emlyn uwch Cuch which may have formed part of those given to James Howell in 1404. "Also all those houses, lands, etc., in Llennerthe als Llemerghe, then or formerly in the tenure of James ab Griffith ab Howell or his assignes". *Letters Patent*, 23 Ap., 9 James I. It is fairly clear that these lands were in Emlyn, but enquiry has failed to identify them.

misdeeds, he crept back to his native country and lived the remainder of his unquiet life in the obscurity of Penrallt on the South Cardiganshire coast.

This judicial murder of Sir Rhys had important effects upon the Lordship of Emlyn. It brought to a sad end the period of the new Welsh lords. All the lands of Sir Rhys were declared forfeited—Emlyn amongst them. The reports of the Commissioners sent to survey the possessions contain full accounts of the issues of the Lordship[1] and also a very minute description of the castle from which the details furnished in the Appendix to this brief chapter are taken. The Lordship reverted to the Crown, and was for some years under the control of agents appointed by the Sovereign. The Burleys and the Hoptons and also the descendants of Thomas ap Gruffydd ap Nicholas had held the Commote in "fee-simple." The next holders were merely "fermours" for a term of years.

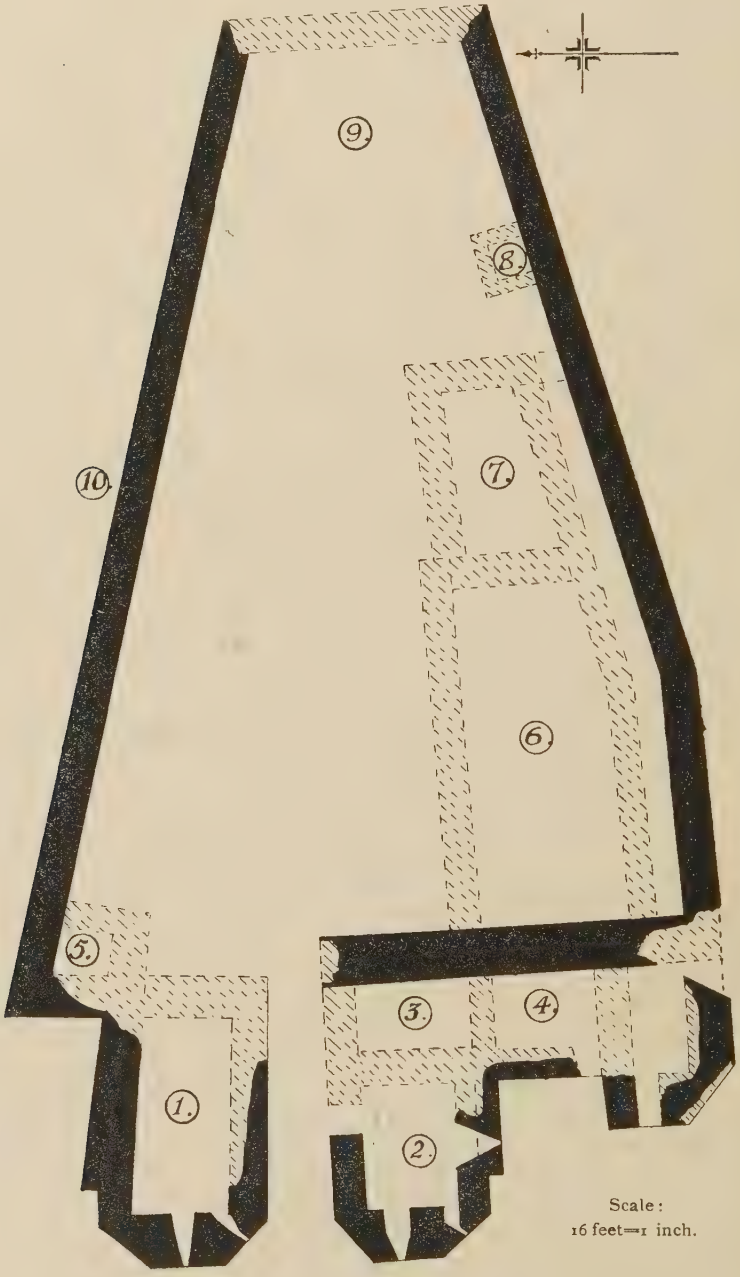
APPENDIX.

The Castle in 1532.

(A) The following is a summary of the Survey of 1532 (*Inventory Ancient Monuments, Carm.* pp. 220-1). The numbers are those marked on the accompanying ground-plan.

The greatest length of the castle, from the west,= 165ft.; the greatest width=103ft.; frontage=75ft. As far as can be gathered from the description, it would seem that (1) contained the prison (vaulted), the porter's lodge, and over it a "fair chamber." (2) Contained a "loo chamber or parler" under "the stere ledyng in to the said

[1] Exchequ. T.R. Misc. Bk. 151. Cal. State Papers, Henry VIII, vol. v, 1531-2. Mr. Edward Owen kindly made a special examination of the original record on behalf of the present writer, and found that Section viii—Rentals and Surveys, Portfolio 23, No. 43—merely gives the name of each estate with the total income derived therefrom; e.g., Dom de Emlyn=£54 19s. 5d.; Iskoide m. in Com. Cardigan= £11 16s. 2d.; Gwynyonneth=3/4; and does not give the name of each source of income within a lordship, i.e., farm-names, etc. The largest estates were:—Emlyn=£54 19s. 5d.; Kydwelly=£52 17s. 7¼d.; Carew=£43 2s. 4d.; Iskennon and Parvethe=£40 14s. 11½d.



Ground Plan of the New Castle of Emlyn.

Drawn by Mr. W. L. Michael, A.R.San.I., Surveyor to the Newcastle-in-Emlyn Rural District Council.

To face p. 88.

Newcastle Emlyn: Interior View of the Castle.

buyldynges," and a fair chamber over the "parler" and stair. Over (3) and (4) there were a fair chamber, an inner chamber and a closet. (5) A "little towre" containing a winding staircase leading to the battlements of the above-mentioned buildings, and also a small chamber. (6) A buttery and a cellar (45 x 27 ft.) and over these the hall (45 x 23 ft. within). (7) Adjoining the hall a "storie" (26 x 21 ft.) in which were "gresynges" of 13 steps leading into the hall; over the staircase was the chapel, and "nigh to the same the kechyn w't the larder house under the same voyted."[1] (8) On the south wall "a little towre to see and view the cuntre." (9) A building (35 x 30 ft.) at the apex, containing a "chamber and a prive kechyn w't too chambers over them, and a wardrop chamber over them." (10) The north wall which "kepeth in the quadrant haithe a walkyng place" of 3½ft. deep beside the battlements. "All the walls of this Castell be made of hard stone, and covered w't sklate, and ev'y gutter ledyd."

The outbuildings were below the castle, near the river. (a) The stable (120ft.), "standyng by the water there," with room for 22 horses, and over the stable, a "fayre galery selyd w't X glasse wyndoes": all covered with slate. (The stable apparently was in the section next to the Dolcastell. A depression at the back of the ridge here shows that a deep ditch ran behind the structure.) (b) Hayhouse (60 x 18 ft.). (c) A slaughter house (36ft.) with a chamber over it, and adjoining this a "litte house sklated . . . square ev'y wey, xii fete." (d) A building (42 x 21 ft.) containing a bakehouse and a brewhouse with a chamber above: roofed with thatch, in decay. (All these outhouses, except the stable, were situated near the river, under the north wall of the castle. The bakehouse was almost in a line with the tower marked (i) on the ground plan.)

(B) Present condition of the ruins. The photographs and the parts in black on the ground plan show as much of the stonework as is visible. Mounds of earth and small stones give some indication of the position of the walls of the interior edifices. The N.E. wall of the room under the chapel and the N.W. wall of

[1] The hall and two chambers at the end of it were "newly built" in 1340. See Note 1, p. 53.

the buttery under the hall remain, but for the most part are covered with loose rubble and earth. That under the chapel was exposed in the summer of 1921, showing (next to the hall) part of either a doorway or a window; so little of the earth was disturbed that it was impossible to decide which. Nothing remains of the building at the east end of the castle. A large heap and part of the north wall indicate the site of the tower marked (5). Were the rubbish cleared out and the floor of the interior reduced to the level of the entrance, there would be found preserved about a third of the elevation of the north curtain wall, a little less of the south wall, and also a good deal of the walls of the structures marked (3), (4), (6), (7) on the ground plan.

CHAPTER VII.

Concluding Survey.

By carrying our story down to the death of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd we have crossed the line of demarcation usually set between the Middle and the Modern Periods; but as far as Wales is concerned all that is connoted by the term mediæval died hard, and if an arbitrary date must be fixed to mark the epoch, 1531 is better than 1453; at any rate it is the right date for the purposes of this Essay. (1) Sir Rhys was the last representative of the territorial lords who in the earlier centuries had held sway over our Cantref, and whose activities in the twelfth century had created the separate Lordship of Emlyn uwch Cuch.[1] (2)

[1] The next holders of the lordship, though tracing descent from Thomas ap Gr. ap Nicholas, were "fermours" holding by lease. In Dep. 7 Ch. I, Easter, No. 17, only the names of Henry Jones of Abermarlais, of Thomas and Henry, the son and the grandson, are given; but "Letters and Papers", H. VIII, vol. v, 978, record that in 1532, Thomas Jones, the father of the first Henry mentioned above, was appointed "Steward, surveyor and receiver" of the Lordship, and he seems to have become farmer in 1546 (*Hanes Llangeler a Phenboyr*, p. 63). Of his son Henry it is said that sometimes "he did dwell in the Manor House of Emlyn". Dwnn (i, 167, Note 7) states that when the celebrated Dr. Dee came to England, his friend Sir Thomas Jones

The period following his death was marked by the rapid completion of the processes by which the old system of land-tenure in our "Commote" melted into the new. This is evidenced by the depositions made in several enquiries during the reign of Charles I.[1] (3) Sir Rhys' trial coincides in part with the work of the Reformation Parliament (1529-35). The changes which ensued affected our Commote. In 1534, John Owen, Vicar of Llangeler, and Griffith John, Vicar of Kenarth, together with Morgan ap Thomas, Vicar of Clidei, and four "Chaplains" in the Rural Deanery of Emlyn signed the famous declaration that the Pope had no greater jurisdiction in this realm

offered him the Castle of Emlyn as a residence—an offer which was declined.[1] The lease by which the Johns or Jones' held the Lordship expired about 1612, and on 23 Ap., 9 James I (Letters Patent) the king granted Emlyn as held by Rees Griffith to "Sir Richard Grobham, Knt., and John Howe and their heirs for ever". There were exceptions. Rice Griffith and Sir Henry Jones had held the mills and fisheries of the Lordship,—Melyn Newydd, 40/-; East Melyn Aberarad, 15/-; Melyn Kenarth with the fisheries, 100/-; the Fulling Mill in Aberarad, 5/-. These had been granted to Ed. Ferrars and Francis Phillips in Feb., 9 James I; but in Excheq. Dep., 3 Ch. I, Trinity, No. 6, one of the points to be settled is—Whether or no the king in the fifteenth year of his reign had given the mill of Cenarth to Sir Richard Grobham. The lordship did not remain long in the possession of the Grobhams. On what date it was acquired by the Golden Grove family is difficult to decide. John, Earl of Carbery, was lord of Emlyn in June 1630. for on the fifteenth day a Commission was appointed to enquire into his suit against Thomas Lewis, William Lloyd and others in Emlyn. The Lordship remained in the House of Golden Grove until John Vaughan devised his estates to John Campbell of Stackpole Court, the first Lord Cawdor.

[1] Dep., 3 Ch. I, Mich., No. 47; Exch. Dep., 3 Ch. I, Trinity, No. 6; *Ibid.*, 6 Ch. I, Mich., No. 1; and Hilary, No. 3; and 7 Ch. I, Easter, No. 17. See Miscellanea (iii).

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[1] In Letters Patent 9 James I are found the words—"Also the mansion house or castle called Penebeare otherwise Penybythe and all closes of land, etc., late in the tenure of Thomas Bruyne". This castle is identified by reference to *Arch. Camb., Parochialia*, pt. iii, 79. The Bruynes, who came over with the Conqueror, lived at Fforest Pen y Buarth. The family was extinct in Lhuyd's day. The name is seen on a Roll of the Borough of Atpar (1670-80) John Bruyne occupied Tir Francis Dyfriog and Tir yr Evel. In view of the phraseology employed in Letters Patent, 9 James I, it should not be too readily assumed that every reference to a castle in the records has but one meaning, viz., the stronghold on the banks on the Teifi.

than any other foreign bishop.[1] The parish churches of Martir Keler, Penhebr (Penboyr) and Keynarth and also Lantheveryok had figured in the Taxatio of 1291; they figure again in the Valor of 1536. By the Dissolution of the monasteries, the rectorial tithes of Cenarth appropriated to the Nuns of Llanllyr, and the Grange of Maenorvorion with its greater tithes appropriated to Whitland Abbey, passed into the hands of laymen. As the Episcopal and Cathedral estates were left untouched by the drastic disendowment which befell the monastic bodies, the Bishops of St. David's still remained lords of Atpar and Dyffryn Teifi. By this date, most of the burgage-lands in Atpar had been coalesced into a number of small estates,[2] the largest of them being in the possession of the "old Llwydiaid of Cilgwyn"—presumably an offshoot of the House of Gwernan. Atpar, no doubt, owes its survival as a borough to the influence of this family, and the holding by them of so many consolidated burgage-tenements gave them considerable power in the nomination of the officials of the borough,—the portreeve, the recorder, and the two bailiffs.[3] This aggregation of burgage-tenements into small estates did not take place in Emlyn. There was no family resident within the borders of the Newtown to emulate, for instance, the Lloyds of Cilgwyn in the purchase of the tenements of broken or departing burgesses.[4] Moreover, the lords of Atpar had not the same personal interest in their estate as had the later lords of Emlyn who resided for a part of their time in the Newcastle, and thus overshadowed any of their ambitious tenants. Whatever the explanation, most, if not all, of the town lands of Emlyn had gradually reverted to the lords, and it would seem that the process was completed

[1] Letters and Papers, H. VIII, vol. 7, No. 1025. The chaplains were Hugo ap David; Rees ap Ieuanc; Griffith Lewis alias Goch; Phillip Adda. One of these was probably curate-in-charge of Newcastle Emlyn.

[2] Each of these is called a burgage in the eighteenth century, showing that the original application of the term had been lost.

[3] The right of nominating a portreeve went with each burgage, as the term was then understood.

[4] Had the Wroths remained on the demesne in Aberarad, as the family of Gwilym ap Einion Fawr remained in the Bargod Valley, they probably would have been able to create an estate on the Emlyn side like that of Cilgwyn on the Cardiganshire side of the Teifi.

during the period of the new Welsh lords of Dinefor and Abermarlais. Spite of this and of the fact that it was spoken of as a "villedge," Newcastle Emlyn seems to have retained some faint semblance of a corporate existence. The evidence, slender as it is, points in that direction. A new town-hall was erected during the Tudor Period and near by, apparently, stood a series of 27 thatched shops called King's or Queen's Shops, which constituted a kind of permanent market.[1] The rents, however, went to the lord and not to a corporation.

What put the final end to what had survived of mediæval Newcastle Emlyn was the Civil War and the destruction of the castle. As is abundantly evidenced by the various notices in the text and notes, the castle at best was a poor structure,—in point of size only a little larger than that of Llandovery, but insignificant when compared with other Carmarthenshire castles like those of Dinefor, Carreg Cennen, Dryslwyn, Carmarthen, Llanstephan, and especially Kidwelly. The Survey of 1532 shows that it was in a good condition at that date, and we know that the Johns of Abermarlais lived in it occasionally during the period when they farmed the lordship; indeed, it is not improbable that it was residentiary up to the time of the first Earl of Carbery. It was one of the last castles in South Wales to hold out for Charles I, but after having been taken and retaken during the stresses of the Civil War, it was eventually blown up by gunpowder about 1648.[2] Thus after crowning the picturesque promontory,

[1] "Griffith y Crydd of the town of Emlin thatched and repaired the said shops" for one of the deponents in Exchcq. Dep., 6 Ch. I, Mich., No. 1. Further, "Eliz. Jenkins of Llandevriog, aged 45, repaired to the fair at Emlyn as a girl and went to James Lewis and desired him to bestow a frayring on her, as her father had previously arrented these shops".

[2] The history of the castle during the Civil War may be summarised thus:—(i) It is believed that the stronghold was voluntarily surrendered after a show of defence on the part of the Earl of Carbery, who though appointed by the King Governor-General of the Three Counties seems to have feared the consequence of the Act of April 19, 1643, and to have surreptitiously played into the hands of the Parliamentarians. It is significant that at a later date he was in favour with Cromwell, who is said to have presented him with some deer for his park at Golden Grove. (ii) It was taken by Col. Charles Gerard who had succeeded the Earl of Carbery as Governor General. By a series of actions Gerard took the castles of Cardigan, Emlyn and Laugharne (Phillips' *Memoirs of the Civil War*, ii, 189, i, 233-4).

whereon it stands, for about 400 years, it was left a heap of ruins. Soon after the Restoration, the founders of the family called Llwydiaid Newydd Cilgwyn bought the materials lying about in confusion, and took what they needed to enlarge the mediæval mansion known as Old Cilgwyn,[1] and what they did not need for their purpose generations of townsfolk have carried away. There are houses in Newcastle Emlyn to-day faced with the weather-worn sandstones originally brought from Rhos, Llangeler, to form the windows and door-ways of the castle buildings. With the destruction of the houses in that part of the town next to the castle, the blowing up of the stronghold itself, and the consequent removal of the officials and

[1] Mr. C. H. Ll Fitzwilliams informed the writer that when he pulled down the Old Mansion during the erection of the present Cilgwyn he found that the house of the Restoration Period incorporated a wing of the older house; that in one part of this there was a wall 8 feet thick, containing a zig-zag passage, the ends of which had been built up, leaving a thick oak door inside. The doorway was pointed, and there were other fifteenth century notes of time. The best of the timber in Old Cilgwyn was used in the construction of the new residence, and thus some of the oak from the castle is preserved in the present Cilgwyn.

(iii) After the occupation of Carmarthen by the Parliamentarian Laugharne in Oct., 1644-5, General Stradling and Colonel Lovelace with their small Royalist army retired to Newcastle Emlyn. They harrassed the Parliamentarian gentry of the neighbourhood of Cardigan—James Phillips of the Priory and Colonel James Lewis of Coedmore. Having secured help the latter beseiged Newcastle Emlyn in November, but failed to reduce it before the middle of December (*Ibid.*, i, 337-9). (iv) Newcastle Emlyn was apparently recovered by the Royalists (who were strong in numbers in the immediate vicinity) during the seige of Cardigan Castle in January 1645 by Gerard. When Laugharne routed the Royalists at Cardigan on January 22, Gerard's army escaped to Newcastle Emlyn (*Ibid.*, i, 229). (v) In April 1645 the Parliamentarians under General Sangborne advanced upon Newcastle Emlyn but after a fortnight's effort to reduce the castle, they suffered a most complete and disastrous defeat at the hands of Gerard, who by a series of rapid marches fell upon them at 6 a.m., Sunday, April 27th, and took them entirely unprepared. The Parliamentarians acknowledged the loss of 400 men, killed and captured. The Royalist account however, states that 150 men were killed on the spot, besides those in the pursuit of seven miles; 486 were captured, among them all the English-Irish mercenaries who were to receive no mercy, 20 officers, 120 horses, nearly 700 arms and 1 cannon. After this crushing defeat the Parliamentarians left Newcastle Emlyn severely alone, but when the counties submitted all the castles were given up (*Ibid*, ii, 248-9; 250-2). A copy of the

servants dependent upon it, Newcastle Emlyn hastened to the lowest degree of decay it had ever known. All the notes of a town organisation were now gone.

Atpar, however, clung tenaciously to its rights and privileges as a borough; but the Corporation was merely an oligarchy[1] consisting of the few owners of the burgage-

[1] All the information about the Borough of Atpar at this period was got from papers in the Cilgwyn Archives. A summary of Chief Rent Roll, dated about 1690, is appended. The number of original burgages coalesced into a single estate may be gathered from the chief rent paid. (i) The Bishop owned 20 (Fforest); (ii) Tyr y Kylgwyn comprised 14; (iii) Tyr cwm du 2; (iv) Castell Penrhyn 2; (v) Cavan (i.e. Cefn) 2; (vi) Land in occupation of Evan John Morris 2; (vii) In occupation of late David John 3; (viii) Blaen Llwch yr hal $2\frac{1}{2}$; (ix) Land of John Bruyne $2\frac{2}{3}$; (x) Pwll yr keyrne 4; (xi) Llain Knwck yr Escair $\frac{1}{2}$; (xii) Tyr y Vedw $2\frac{2}{3}$; (xiii) Tyr y ty yn y wern $\frac{3}{4}$; (xiv) Tyr y Scybor $\frac{3}{4}$; (xv) Tyr ffynnon oer $3\frac{1}{2}$; (xvi) a parcel $\frac{1}{6}$; (xvii) Tyr y merched 10; (xviii) Tyr yr Hellingwen (i.e. Henllyn Mawr) $2\frac{1}{3}$; (xix) Tyr Rosser baly, Ddol Goch $5\frac{1}{6}$; (xx) Tyr Cwr y Coed 1; (xxi) Tyr Kyllech $7\frac{1}{3}$; (xxii) Lleine Blaennant y Collwyn 1; (xxiii) Tyr y Clyn gwynne $4\frac{1}{3}$. ii—vii were owned by John Lloyd of Kilgwyn; x—xiii by David ap Rees Goch; xvii by John Lloyd; xxi by Sir John Lewis. The sum total of chief rents amounted to £4 13s. 8d. In a list of field names Helling is called Henllyn; and Cavan, Park Cefn Hen.

Mercurius Aulicus, May 4-11, 1645, pp. 1578-9, which gives the Royalist version of the battle, is in the possession of Mr. J. H. Evans. (vi) In the Spring of 1648, Cromwell feared a rising of Royalists and Presbyterians as against the Independents. Two companies of Laugharne's men, under Captains Cozens and Addis were, therefore, thrown into the Castle of Emlyn (*Ibid.*, ii, 358). How long they remained there is not known. It was, however, finally resolved to demolish the stronghold and it was blown up by gunpowder (*Inventory Ancient Monuments, Carmarthenshire*, p. 221). In 1698, E. Lhuyd *Par.*, iii, 79) describes it as "dismantled . . . . . plundered and ever since neglected"; and by 1807 the greater part of the material had disappeared (Malkin, ii, 164).

"Gwynionydd", who had a good knowledge of local tradition, states in his *Hanes* (p. 38) that amongst the Parliamentarians were T. Evans of Ffynonbedr, Lloyd of Maerdref, the two Phillipses of Cardigan, and among the Royalists Evan Gr. Evans of Penwenallt—(grandfather of Theophilus Evans) who was incarcerated in Cardigan, and Dafydd Rhys of Glan Dulas, Troedyraur. To these add John Lewes of Llysnewydd, "a noted dilinquent, very active for the King" (*Llangeler*, p. 79), also John Lloyd of Cilgwyn. "Gwynionydd" (p. 7) says that after the Restoration some part of the castle was inhabited by a *haid o ladron haerllug* who raided the country. Soldiers were sent to dislodge them and killed one of them at Cenarth. A descendant of another lived at Blaenhalen.

estates already referred to. No one else had the right to attend the Courts or to occupy the office of portreeve. The sub-tenants and cottagers were not burgesses, as is popularly believed, and had absolutely no voice in the management of affairs. The power wielded by the Bishop's steward went no further than the holding once a year of a "Court Baron" in which the portreeve was sworn in, and receiving the chief-rents payable to the lord from the landowners within the borough.

By the end of the seventeenth century, both places had recovered somewhat from the depressing economic effects of the Civil War. Edward Lhuyd notes that there was a good market for corn in Newcastle Emlyn all the year round,[1] and this improvement must have continued during the first half of the eighteenth century, for it may be assumed that Hallam's well-known remark about the prosperity of agriculture during these years applies to Wales as well as England. It was probably the position of Atpar as a convenient centre of a widespread and prosperous agricultural district, added to the other inducements, such as persuasion on the part of local gentry, and the increasing demand on the part of the better sort of farmers for religious literature, that led Isaac Carter to

[1] *Arch. Camb.* Parochialia, iii, p. 79.

Enquiry has failed to discover anything—tradition, place-name, bits of weapon, armour, etc.—to suggest the burial place of those killed during the attacks upon the castle.

Meyrick (p. 137) states that on 25 Feb., 1647, the Manors of Atpar, Dyffryn Teifi, and Llandygwydd were sold to Dd. Lewis for £227 14s. 10d. At the same time probably Llandyfriog lost its tithe which was appropriated to the Archdeaconry of Cardigan. The estates were recovered by the Bishops; the tithes of Llandyfriog remained in the hands of laymen.

"Cromwell's sword". The weapon so called has been handed down as an heirloom in a family which occupied Park Nest for about 300 years. The tradition connected with the heirloom is that during the occupation of Newcastle Emlyn by the Parliamentarians it was bruited about that Cromwell himself was at the castle with his men. The farmer of Park Nest resolved to rid the world of the "monster". Eluding the sentinels he reached the castle walls and through a window shot the officer whom he believed to be Cromwell. In the confusion, he managed to escape, and lived in the woods until the Royalists retook the stronghold. According to one version of the story, it was the Earl of Carbery who presented the farmer with the sword in recognition of his "valour"; according to Mr. J. H. Evans,

establish in "Trehedyn" the first printing establishment set up in Wales.[1] We say the better sort of farmers because as yet the bulk of the labourers and small agriculturalists were wholly illiterate. Popular education was unknown before Griffith Jones in 1730 set in motion his wonderful circulating schools,— twelve years after Isaac Carter had begun his work in Atpar. The class of Welshmen, regarded as educated, at that date, would be well

[1] See *Welsh Ballads* by Principal J. H. Davies, *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1909-10, p. 167. Carter settled at Carmarthen from 1725 to 1734. The two ballads whose titles are appended were the first books printed in Wales; both are in the Shirburn Castle Collection purchased by Sir John Williams, Bart. for the National Library of Wales.

(i) *Can o sen i'w hen Feistr Tobacco*, 1718.

(ii) *Can ar Fesur Triban ynghylch Cydwybod a'i Chynheddfau*, 1718.

It is interesting to note that this song was found bound at the end of a copy of "*Cydwybod y cyfarll gorau ar y Ddaear*", a book translated by Theophilus Evans, and published in 1715. Other books printed at Trehedyn were:

"*Eglirhad o Gatecism Byrraf y Gymanfa*", 1719.

"*Dwysfawr Rym Buchedd Grefyddol*", 1722.

"*Y Cristion Cyffredin*", 1724.

"*Annogaeth ddifrifol Gweinidog i'w Blwyfolion*". This latter may have been printed at Carmarthen.

According to *Enwogion Ceredigion* (p. 225) the author of *Can o sen i'r Tobacco* was Alban Thomas, afterwards Vicar of Blaenporth, a descendant of the House of Tywyn; a poet and scholar, who persuaded Mr S. Parry of Neuadd Trefawr, and Mr. Walter Lloyd of Coedmore to join in inducing I. Carter to settle in Atpar. "*Traethawd ar Ddammeg y Mab Afradlon* gan J. Goodman a gyfieithwyd drwy ddirfawr boen a diwydrwydd gan y diweddar a'r dysgedig Mr. Wm. Lewis o'r Llwynderw a Mr. Evan Pryce, Rhydybenne" was printed by Carter at Carmarthen (*Hanes Castellnewydd*, p. 48). These were the type of men who sowed the seed which was vivified by the Evangelical Revival. Bibles and Prayer Books also were being distributed by the S.P.C.K.

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who for years was trustee of the late Mrs. Jane Maria Jones (the last representative of the family to live at Park Nest), it was Prince Rupert who made the presentation. Probably Rupert here stands for Gerard, for there is no record that Rupert ever visited Newcastle Emlyn. It is difficult to believe that the facing-both-ways Carbery would have rewarded one of his tenants for attempting to shoot Cromwell or one of his officers. As the Royalists were *within* the castle during the battle of April, 1645, the story cannot belong to that date. It probably relates to an incident which took place during the first occupation of the castle by the Parliamentarians. See Notes above, Sections (1) and (2). The sword is now in the possession of Mr. J. Michael Evans, Cardiff.

represented by Theophilus Evans, the author of *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, a member of a bonedd family living at Penwenallt which had suffered grievously for its loyalty during the Puritan Revolt. Theophilus Evans seems to have owned some land in the Borough of Atpar and for the year 1711 acted as its prepositus,[1] on the nomination of John Thomas, then the owner of Ffynnon Oer, and later resident in the parish of Llandygwydd. Theophilus was ordained deacon in 1718, the very year in which Isaac Carter issued his first publication *Can o sen i'w Hen Feistr Tobacco*.

The borough of Newcastle Emlyn had long been extinguished. The turn of Atpar came about the middle of the eighteenth century. As has been said, the early Llwydiaid of Cilgwyn had been succeeded by a branch of the family of Cilfachwen,[2] Llandyssul, one of whom, viz.,

[1] Court Roll, 12 May, 1711. There is no room for mistake, for Depositions, 16 Oct., 1740, have "Theophilus Evans, then of Llandigwith in Cardiganshire, Gent, now of Brecknoc". Theophilus Evans, 1694—1769, was the fifth son of Charles Evans of Penwenallt, now a farmhouse, looking down the Cenarth gorge. After serving various curacies—Tir Abbat, Llanlleonfel, etc., he eventually became Vicar of Llangamarch in 1738. Amongst his literary works are: "*Drych y Prif Oesoedd*" (1715, 1740); "*Pwyll i Bader*" (1739); "*History of Modern Enthusiasm*" (1852); "*Prydferthwch Sancteiddrwydd yn y weddi Gyffredin*". One of his daughters married Hugh Jones, Vicar of Llywel, and became the mother of Theophilus Jones, the author of the *History of Breconshire*. Gwynionydd's *Enwogion Ceredigion* (p. 79) mentions among Theo. Evans' contemporaries: (i) Jenkin Thomas (1688—1765) of Trewen Mill and later Cwmdu, shoemaker, poet, preacher at Trewen Chapel, a collection of whose poems is included in *Blodau Dyfed* (p. 228); (ii) Saml Williams, parson of Llandyfriog and Llangynllo, a well known local poet and translator (p. 259); (iii) His better known son, Moses Williams, M.A. For a time he was Vicar of Llanwenog, then of Defynog, in 1724 Rector of Chilton Trinity and of St. Mary's, Bridgewater; Fellow of the Royal Society in 1732. In 1718 he edited "*Beibl Moses Williams*"; compiled "*Repertorium Poeticum sive Poematum Wallicorum*". He assisted Wotton in the compilation of his *Laws of Hywel Dda*, 1730 (p. 257). (iv) Ieuan Griffith o'r Twr Gwyn, the poet (p. 79). It should be noted that Griffith Jones (1683—1761) of Llanddowror was born in Cilrhedyn.

[2] Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (1808) p. 136. To the following pedigree in the Cilgwyn Archives are added a few notes from Peniarth MSS., 156. Thomas Lloyd of Y Gilfachwen (b. after 1575; d. between 1649 and 1652), m. Mary, daughter of Rhys Lloyd of Cilgwyn. (i) Their son, John Lloyd of Cilgwyn (d. between 1682 and 1685), m. Dorothy Vaughan daughter to Walter Vychan of Llanelli. (ii) Thomas Lloyd

Thomas, second son to Thomas Llwyd, had married Mary, the sole heiress of Rhys Llwyd, the last male representative of the old Atpar house. It seems that the new family did not settle at Cilgwyn until after the Restoration. In about 60 years they had become owners of three-quarters of the burgage-lands in the borough,[1] and their power and activities in the Courts dominated all other interests.

It was, however, its connection with Parliamentary elections that brought about the fall of Atpar. Atpar at this period contributed with Cardigan, Lampeter and Aberystwyth to return a member to Parliament. Just as the Gwynnes of Glanbran worked the borough of Llandovery in the interests of their house,[2] so did the Llwyds of Cilgwyn work Atpar. To increase its voting strength, outsiders from the neighbouring parishes were admitted as burgesses on the payment of 2*s*. 6*d*. The Corporation became so venal that in a short time scant respect was paid to the established laws with regard to the qualification, election and swearing in of the portreeve. In 1740, the storm burst. Protests forced the authorities to intervene. The King's Courts ousted the two last portreeves, and in 1741 the Borough and Corporation, which had

[1] "Case of the Borough of Attpar" Feb. 14, 1752.

[2] "Story of the Ancient Churches of Llandovery." *Trans. Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion,* 1911-2, pp. 202-4.

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of Cilgwyn. (iii) John Lloyd (b. about 1689 and d. 1701) m. Elinor daughter to John Lloyd of Llangennych (i, 18). (iv) John Lloyd m. (i) Clara Davies. (ii) Elizabeth Davies, from whom he had issue Captain Thomas Lloyd, who by his will dated 13 May, 1748, devised two-thirds of his estates to his friend Richard Brathwaite, and one-third to Thomas Lloyd of Coedmore, son of Walter son of Thomas Lloyd of Coedmore, second son of the above-mentioned John Lloyd of Cilgwyn. Captain Lloyd of Cilgwyn and the then Captain Brathwaite were old comrades who lost their ships at the same time. They decided by toss which of them should sell his estate in order to buy ships for both. The former won. Dying unmarried, he left two-thirds of his property, as has been said, to his old friend, now Admiral Brathwaite (d. 28 June, 1805). One of the latter's three daughters married Benjamin Ed. Hall of Paddington. Their son, Ed. Compton Lloyd, Barrister-at-law, was the father of Mr. Ch. H. Ll. Fitzwilliams and the grandfather of Col. E. C. L. Fitzwilliams, C.M.G.; 1914-5 Star; Order of the White Eagle (Serbia) and Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus (Italy).

existed since the beginning of the fourteenth century, came to an inglorious end.[1]

Surprise may be expressed at the meagreness of the references in the text to ecclesiastical buildings in Atpar and Newcastle Emlyn. Had the towns preserved a church like that of Llandyssul, or a chancel like that of St. Mary's, Cardigan, we could have woven the story writ in the records with that graven in stone ; but neither in Atpar nor in Newcastle Emlyn has survived any vestige of a mediæval church. In fact, except the motte and bailey and parts of the mansion of Old Cilgwyn in Atpar, and the ruins of the castle in Emlyn, no monument of mediæval times existed here even at the end of the eighteenth century. The position of the mediæval chapel of Holy

[1] The end came in this wise. Wm. Lloyd, the portreeve, having died in office (1734), no new appointment was made until after Michaelmas, when Jacob Rice was elected. Hector Jones of Mountain Hall, the Steward of Dyffryn Teifi, should have sworn him in in open court held within the Borough. He failed to attend on the day fixed, but later appointed an agent to act in his place and selected the date. The agent swore in Jacob Rice but in a "clandestine manner", and not in open court In Nov., 1735, Matthew Griffiths, who held no burgage in Atpar and was not a free-holder therein, and was therefore, not legally eligible, was chosen portreeve and was not sworn in at all. Protests were made to the Bishop of St. David's, lord of Dyffryn Teifi, by, amongst others, John Lloyd of Llangoedmore, who in his letter speaks of the venality of a borough on the Roll of whose burgessess anyone could be admitted on payment of 2/6; and refers to Tregaron as another instance of a "rotten borough". Spite of all, Matthew Griffiths was re-elected year by year and filled the office till 1739. Evan David, another person not a freeholder, was elected in his place Protests availed this time and enquiry followed. Both David and Matthew Griffiths were cited to explain by what authority they had exercised the office of portreeve. The upshot was that in Jan. 1741, the appointment of both was declared null and void, and both were "ousted". After this date no Court was held in Atpar, no portreeve elected, no new burgesses admitted, no corporate act done. William Lewis, who married the widow of John Lloyd of Cilgwyn, made strenuous but vain efforts to get the Borough and Corporation reinstated. The Corporation, however, had ceased to exist. But as Atpar contributed with the other boroughs to elect a member for Parliament, the burgesses still on the Roll had the right to vote in the Parliamentary Elections. In the election of 1774 only two claimed the right to vote as burgesses of Atpar, but neither of them could show the stamped docket of his admission. In 1812 no one claimed to vote on the ground of his being a burgess of Atpar. Twenty years later, enquiry failed to discover anyone who claimed to have been admitted on the Roll. "The Borough of Atpar" was a memory.

To face p. 101.

Newcastle Emlyn.

(From a Drawing by Henry Gastineau: "Wales Illustrated in a Series of Views," 1830)

Trinity,[1] quite close to the outer earthworks of the castle, must have exposed it to considerable damage during the various assaults upon the stronghold in the Civil War. The name is included in Brown Willis' lists of 1733 and the Episcopal Registers give the names of "Curates of Cenarth" from 1744 to 1773. Most probably these curates were stationed at Newcastle Emlyn, but whether they held services in the old chapel or in some other building is not clear. It would seem from one of the records that only the "scite" of the chapel was known in 1780, when the "English residents" resolved to erect thereon the little church which acquired the popular name of Capel Bach y Drindod,[2] and which was pulled down not long

[1] It was there in the time of the Inventory, 1552, for Kenarth, St. John's Chapel (i.e., Capel Iwan) and Newcastle Chapel, are entered as having a Chalice and a bell each. If Philip Havard, Clerk, of the Town of Emlin, referred to in Dep. 3, Ch. i, Mich, No. 47, was the Curate-in-Charge, the Mediæval Chapel was standing at this date.

[2] A long legal document in the possession of the Vicar of Newcastle Emlyn shows that the builders of Capel Bach thought that they were erecting "within the verge of the old foundation of what was considered to be the garrison Chapel". The Survey of 1532 specifically describes a "chapel" within the walls of the castle, at the end of the hall. As it was very small, it may have been an oratory meant only for the private use of the lord and his family when in residence. This chapel must have met the same fate as the rest of the buildings when the castle was blown up about 1648. The foundations of it still exist and were in part exposed (not disturbed) in the summer of 1921. Brown Willis' "Capel y Castell" must, therefore, refer to the Mediæval Chapel just outside the earthworks, but in 1733 it was most likely in a bad state, for 50 years later only the "old foundation" of it remained. The "Capel y Castell, Chapel to Kennarth, alias Newcastle Emlyn Chapel" of the *Liber Regis* (1786) was the new Chapel recently erected, viz. Capel Bach y Drindod, a print of which will be found in Gastineau's *Collection*, in Woodward's *History of Wales*, Jones' *Views of Wales*, and to the endowment of which John Vaughan of Golden Grove gave Llwyn-ygog and Penrhiw, cottages and lands in the parish of Newcastle Emlyn. The writer, after persistent enquiry, has failed to discover any kind of evidence,—place-name, tradition,—which would lead to the belief that any chapel other than that outside the castle enclosure ever existed in Newcastle Emlyn. *Allen Raine's* brother (Mr. J. H. Evans) was told by the first Vicar of Newcastle Emlyn that there existed a tradition that the bell in Capel Bach y Drindod was the one in Vicar Prichard's House, Llandovery (apparently in the cupola). It was probably presented through the good offices of John Vaughan of Golden Grove, who evinced great interest in the erection of Capel Bach. This "Vicar Prichard's Bell" is the smaller of the two now in the Parish Church of Newcastle Emlyn.

after the formation of the ecclesiastical parish of Newcastle Emlyn and the erection of the present parish church.[1] The Baptists, however, had built their first chapel in Newcastle Emlyn in 1777,[2] and the Calvinistic Methodists their first "Bethel" about the same date.[3] For some time, these three were the only religious bodies which had visible shrines of the Faith in Newcastle Emlyn. The Independent Chapel of Trewen[4] was within

[1] The new parish was assigned out of Cenarth and Llandyfriog by Orders in Council, 10 June, 1843. It consists of the Hamlets of Emlyn and Dolbryn in Carmarthenshire and of the Manor and Borough of Atpar or Lower Llandyfriog in Cardiganshire. *Vicars:*—John Price Jones signs the Registers as Perpetual Curate—Mch. 7, 1841; William Powell (1884—1913); Gruffydd Evans (Dec. 31, 1913 ————). The list of Curates-in-charge, licensed as curates of Kenarth, goes back only to 1744; but Phillip Havard, son of Lawrence Havard, steward of the Lordship (Ex Dep. 6, Ch. I, 1630) seems to have served as curate. Evan Evans (3 Sept, 1744); Joseph Jones (5 Aug., 1746); Henry Davies (26 Oct., 1747); Lewis Davies (26 Aug. 1759); Samuel Konnan (24 Aug. 1767); David Jones (15 Aug. 1773); John William Clarke (10 Jan 1826). (From *Episcopal Register*). J. Price Jones signs Register of Baptisms as Curate, 20 Jan. 1839.

[2] Investigations by "Gwili" and Prof. Morris Owen (Article by the latter in *South Wales News*, July 3, 1922) trace the growth of the Baptist Cause in the town thus: (i) Meetings held in Ty Mawr from 1694, Ministers—William Melchior (? 1697—1745), and Enoch Francis of Pengelli (1734—1740); Griffith Thomas (1742—1763). (ii) Between 1764 and 1775 the members met at Panteg Chapel. (iii) 1775—77 those resident within and around the town met for worship at Parc Nest. (iv) In 1777 Old Graig Chapel was opened under the pastoral care of Timothy Thomas (d. 1784), Dd. Evans, John Richards. the latter of whom assisted the two succeeding pastors—Dd Jones (1788—92) and Evan Evans (1793—99). No regular pastors between 1799—1808. Dd. Nicholas (1808—9); S. Breeze (1812, d. same year); J. Morgan (1815—18); Tim Thomas (1820—60) with J. Owen as assistant (1853—56); Benj Thomas (*Myfyr Emlyn* 1860—73); G. H. Griffiths (1875—88); O. M. Prichard (1889—98); Symlog Morgan (1900 -18). J. Clement Davies (Nov. 1922).

[3] Served by itinerant ministers until 1860, when Evan Phillips (d. 1912) became the first settled pastor. J. Morgan Jones (August, 1922).

[4] It dates from 1672. *Diwygwyr Cymru*, p. 176.

The first recorded Vicars of Cenarth are—Sir Griffin ap John (16 May 1487); Sir Geoffrey ap John (6 Aug. 1494); of Llandyfriog—Llewelyn the Chaplain (1326). Curates-in-Charge of Atpar—Gervasse and David the Chaplain (1326). (Those entitled "Sir" were graduates.)

easy reach of Atpar, and the parish churches of Llandyfriog and Cenarth, where the marriages and the burials of the townsfolk took place, were within a distance of two to three miles. Eventually,—in the first decade of the nineteenth century—the Independents erected their "Ebenezer"[1] in Newcastle Emlyn, though the impulse came from Llangeler and not from Trewen.

The economic awakening of the two towns, as we must still call them, seems to have been due chiefly to the industrial revolution which opened up coal and iron-works and canals in Kidwelly and the neighbourhood,[2] and thus created a demand for agricultural produce which brightened the prospects even in Emlyn. The fairs,[3] which had begun to improve about the middle of the eighteenth century, grew into such vast proportions at the beginning of the nineteenth century that horses and cattle filled the streets from Atpar to Aberarad on the chief fair days. Such, at any rate, is the tradition. With the influx of trade, the number of hostelries and shops increased rapidly,[4] and a banking establishment appeared[5] in 1837.

Elementary education had been carried on in the

[1] Ministers:—Thomas Jones (1807—50); John Williams (1851—69); E. A. Jones (1871—84); Dd. D. Walters, (*Gwallter Ddu*, 1890—1901); B. Davies, D.D. (1902———). An old Wesleyan Chapel is now occupied as the printing office.

[2] See *Cymmrodor*, xxv. Kidwelly, p. 126.

[3] Eleven fairs were held in the two towns in 1832 *(Par. Report)*. Lewis' *Top. Dict.* mentions 8, apparently in Newcastle Emlyn alone.

[4] A great transformation had taken place by the time the present Parish Church was erected. Lewis' *Top. Dict.* describes the houses as well built, several of them being handsome. "The cottages have an appearance of comfort and neatness not usually found in this part of the country".

[5] A Sub-branch of the National Provincial Bank was opened in 1837, but was closed after a time and re-opened in 1864. Managers: E. H. Williams (1866—97); W. Snead Williams (1897—1910); W. Lloyd (1910—1919): John Evans (1919———). The National Bank of Wales opened a branch here in 1890 with Gwynne Davies as manager; in 1893 this was amalgamated with the Metropolitan Bank of England & Wales. Managers: Gwynne Davies, J. R. Harris (Jan. 1912—Nov. 1914). The London City and Midland Bank opened a branch here in Nov. 1912, under the managership of T. M. Jones; in July, 1914, this Bank amalgamated with the Metropolitan and in Ap. 1915, the branch removed to the premises occupied by the latter. Lloyds Bank opened a branch on Jan. 1, 1907, with E. Owen Evans as manager, and Barclay's on Aug. 29, 1919, with John D. Rees as manager.

familiar haphazard way long before the founding of the National School[1] sometime after the erection of the Parish Church, but the excellent Sunday Schools and other societies connected with the places of worship contributed in no little degree to make up for the deficiencies of the small irregular schools, and by carrying on the work into the adult period give a general culture which, though narrow in its sympathies, did much to uplift the manual labourers and other workers. Higher education was provided by the small Grammar Schools kept by private individuals. The one in Atpar is well-remembered, and its successor, the "Emlyn Grammar School,"[2] still flourishes and serves a purpose which the Secondary Schools could not fulfil. About 60 years ago, the "better class" in the neighbourhood maintained a Reading Society which circulated sound literature among its members, and which

[1] It was held at first in the disused Capel Bach y Drindod and transferred to the present schoolroom[1] opposite the Parish Church. The early records have perished. Head teachers: D. Richards (1863—4); J. Donaldson (1865—6); D. Garrod (1866—69); Hugh Hughes (1869—72); J. Crisp (1873—Dec. 73); Lewis Jones (1874—March 31, 74); Thomas Vaughan (Ap. 1874—75); Robt Hindes (Aug. 1875—Nov. 75); School closed Nov. 11, 1875 to Oct. 16, 1876. Thomas Vaughan (1876—1881); Wm. Lowe (Aug. 1881—Nov. 1882); James Brown (1882—May, 1883); Geo. Lloyd (1883—Jan. 1885); Gwilym Roberts (1885—Nov. 1886); Ebenezer Davies (1886—Dec. 1886); Andrew Heber Maurice (Jan. 3, 1887————). A disused Baptist Chapel in Atpar housed (i) A Grammar School, (ii) The British School until the present Council Schoolroom was erected.[2] Head teachers: Daniel Davies (Jan. 24, 1876—March 31, 1921); Richd Lloyd Lewis (1921).

[2] Kept at Llanybri House, Atpar by the Rev. J. Davies; in the disused Baptist Chapel, Atpar and in the town by the late Mr. T. T. Elias. Present head: Mr. J. Phillips.

[1] The celebrated preacher Dr. Herber Evans and the equally celebrated musician and composer D. Emlyn Evans were for a time pupils at this School. The versatile *Ioan Emlyn* (J. Jones, LL.D. Glasgow) a native of Newcastle Emlyn and the vigorous *Mathetes* (brought up near Tan yr helig) had left the neighbourhood long before the founding of the National School. Good biographies of these eminent men are available.

[2] The most distinguished pupil of this School is Sir J. T. Davies, KC.B; C.V.O.; Officer of the Legion of Honour (France); Commander of the Order of King George (Greece); Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy; Commander of the Order of the Rising Sun (Japan).

issued a monthly magazine,[1] printed in the town, in which the early productions of "Allen Raine"[2] and Miss Nina Leslie appeared. The literary and musical instincts of the "people" found expression in the frequent competitive meetings, which were of much greater educational value to the neighbourhood than the large eisteddfodau occasionally held. And in this connection, it would be well to record that the various places of worship in Newcastle Emlyn have been served by a number of gifted men, some of whom were poets and litterateurs as well as excellent preachers.

During the last forty years, both towns have given abundant evidence of vitality and progress. Although Newcastle Emlyn had for centuries so lost all semblance of its former character that for administrative purposes it had been merged into the parish in which it lies, it at last recovered a degree of corporate consciousness, and in 1897 became an Urban Area with its Council, thus regaining most of the privileges of self-government which as a burgus it had enjoyed during the Middle Ages.

VIII.—MISCELLANEA.

(i)

Lists of names of Jurors, &c.

(a) *1288. June 7th. Chancery Inquis. Miscell., File 47, No. 18, m. 2.*

Most of the jurors appear to be tenants in Is Cuch. Meredith ab Rykit, Eynon ab Henry, Phillip ab Llewelyn, Madoc ab Sampson, Aron ab En', Rees ab Gogan,

[1] The Welsh Newspaper *Y Byd Cymreig* was printed in the town about the same time, the Editor being the Rev. John Williams, the able pastor of "Ebenezer".

[2] "Allen Raine" (1836—1908), daughter of Mr. B. Evans, solicitor, was born in Newcastle Emlyn, and died at Bronmor, Tresaith. Her well-known novels were issued in the following order: "*A Welsh Singer*" (1897), "*Torn Sails*", "*By Berwen Banks*", "*Garthowen*", "*A Welsh Witch*", "*On the wings of the Wind*", "*Hearts of Wales*", "*Queen of the Rushes*", "*Neither Storehouse nor Barn*", "*All in a month*", "*Where Billows Roll*", "*Under the Thatch*". The last book was completed by her nephew, the late Mr. Lyn Evans, Barrister-at-Law.

Owen ab Einon, Phillip ab Harry, Howel ab Gogan, Owen ab Dd. ab Meiler, Llewelyn Bach, Rees ab Dd., Owen ab Howel, Iorwerth ab Traharn, Griffith ab Llewelyn, Howel ab Grono, Eynon ab Meiller.

(b) *1299. 29 April. Inquis. 27 Ed. I, No. 106.*

William Pencoyt, Roger Kyst, Geoffrey Roudolf, Stephen Baret, Aron ab Ener, Ieuan ab Wyon, Ieuan ab Dd. ab Meyller, Kenewric ab Howel, Llewelyn Bach, Eynon ab Meyller, Griffith ab Llewelyn, Iorwerth ab Llewelyn, Kedwor ab Llewelyn, Rees ab Llewelyn, Griffith ab Howel, Llew ab Madoc, Dd. ab Eynon ab Iorwerth, Llew ab Kadwgan, Gronou ab Adaf, Griffith Gouth ab Griffith Dythel, Dd. ab Phillip, Dd. ab Iorwerth, Llew ab Phillip, Kadwgan ab Madoc Vychan.

(c) *1309. I. A.Q.D. 3 Ed. II, 37. Men of Cantref Mawr and Emlyn.*

Llew Coyg, William ab Gruffith, David ab Eynon ab Iorwerth, Gruffith ab Howel, Iorwerth ab Richard, Gruffith Vaghan, Madoc Penboul, Gruffith ab Iorwerth, Cadogan ab Llew, Gruffith ab Henri, Adaf ab Ieuan, and David ab Eynon ab Elider.

(d) *1327-8. 29 Nov. I.P.M. 1 Ed. III, No. 80. Men of Emlyn uwch Cuch.*

Llew ap Cadogan gam, William Wroth,[1] John Monet,[2] Adaf ap Cradoc, Walter ap Gryffith, Dd. ap Karadoc, Dd. ap Henergoythel (? Hanner-Gwyddel), Llew ap Cadougan, Llew Whitz.

(e) *1343. List of Loyal Tenants.*

Llewelyn ap Gwilym comes first. Willelmus Wroth, Robert Martyn, Llew ap Cadwgan,[3] Iohanes Jolle, Willelmus Coke, Ievan Gethin, Phillipus Coreston, Ievan ap y Boula,[4] Galfrid Cissor, Nicholas Monet, Ioannes Wyne, Gilbertus Cadogan, Dd. ap Madog, Walterus ap David, Robertus ap Dd., Walterus ap Griffith, Llew ap Griffith Gogh, Eynon ap Gronow ap Adaf,[5] Madoc Vaghan,

[1] Held two burgages in Atpar; found also in list of 1343.
[2] In charge of the Newcastle in 1316.
[3] Beadle of Emlyn in 1320.
[4] Held burgage in Atpar (1326).
[5] Beadle of Emlyn, 1319.

Griffith Loith ap Griffith Gogh, Griffith Vaghan ap Griffith ap Howel,[1] Richardus ap Ievan, Eynon ap Cradoc,[2] Dd. ap Ievan ap Kenric, Dd. ap Madoc Benboul, Dd. Voialf de Merther Keler, Griffith ap Willim,[3] Madoc ap Ievan Gogh, Willim ap Eynon ap Dd. ap David, David Vaghan ap David Ys, Griffith ap Meillir, Rees ap Phillip Seys, Griffith ap Dd. Ys, Ievan Gogh ap Iorwerth, David Levaf, Ievan Wyn ap Iorwerth, Howel ap Meillir et tota communitas domi.

(ii)

THE BAILIFF OF EMLYN UWCH CUCH.

Sir John de Havering and Sir Thos. de Cantebrug, both members of the Prince's Council, were sent to survey the lands and castles in 1302. They reached Carmarthen on Friday, Octave of Michaelmas. In 1309 Walter de Pederton and others were ordered to certify as to the value of Cantref Mawr and Emlyn. The Inquisition with regard to Emlyn was made at Maynorvorion on Thursday, November 26th, 1309. Neither Richd. Wroth nor Dd. Vaughan, the Bailiffs of Emlyn, had paid anything for his bailiwick. It was not the custom in the time of the Welsh lords for the bailiff to pay. In fact the Welsh lords were wont to give robes, horses, and other gifts to those holding the bailiwick and to allow them their entire rent for their lands. The Bailiff or Constable was expected to be skilled in the laws and customs of his bailiwick.

(iii)

DEPOSITIONS : TEMP CH I. NAMES OF PERSONS AND LANDS, AND POINTS OF INTEREST.

(a) *Customs of the Mill of Cenarth.*

3 Ch I. Mich, 47 re Customs of the Mill of Cenarth. All the tenants were forced to do service and to carry

[1] Apparently, the Griffith Vachuan holding 12 burgages in Atpar. The names of his father and grandfather suggest the House of Gwernan.

[2] Beadle of Emlyn, 1322.

[3] Undoubtedly, brother to Llewelyn ap Gwilym. His name is found amongst the Loyal in Iscoed. The first example of Emlyn as a personal name appears in the list of Iscoed, viz., Griffith ap Rees Emlyn, Rees Vaghan ap Rees Emlyn.

timber for the mill. Thos. John Gwynne of Kennarth (58) saw tenants carrying mill stones from St. Clears, 12 miles distant, for the mill. Gruffuth Dd. ap Rudderch—the farmer of the mill, Mary Griffiths of Kennarth (68), Thomas ap Rees ap Howell, James Thomas, Rees ap John, Jenkin ap Rees ap John, James Lewis, Jenkin ap Rees, William Jones, James Thomas—all appear in this enquiry.

Excheq Dep : 3 Ch I. Trinity. No. 6. Llwyn Bedw mentioned. Dd. Parry, Gent, v Rees ap John. Depositions taken at the Mansion House of Thos. John Gwynne of Kennarth. James Thomas deposed that he used to grind at the mill, for which he paid 1/20 of the corn ground. If he ground elsewhere he had to pay the miller of Cenarth or the farmer of the mill a toll of 5 quarters of pilcorn of the measure used in Cardigan which was somewhat more than 5 Winchester bushels. Morris ap Rees of Kennarth (80) confirmed the testimony of the last witness.

(b) *Conveyancing of Land in the Commote of Emlyn.*

In Excheq. Dep. 6 Ch I. Mich. No. I, considerable light is thrown upon the customs obtaining in the Lordship during the period of the Johnes with regard to the "passing of lands." On 16 June, 1630, Thomas Price, clerk, Ed. Lloyd, gent, John Lloyd, gent, Evan Thomas, gent, were commissioned to enquire in the suit of John, Earl of Carberry v. Thomas Lewis, William Lloyd and others. The depositions were taken at the Guild or New Hall of the Town of Emlin on September 28th, 1630. Some of the deponents said that freeholders passed lands by deed and release. Pen y lan Vawr had been conveyed to Howel Williams in this way. A Penboir witness testified that John Price had alienated Park y Velindre to Thomas Davies, gent, by livery of seisin and deed of feoffment, and that in consequence his goods were seized by the lord. Nicholas ap Rees Thomas of Kenarth (83) held by descent, and his name was simply entered on the Court Roll as a freeholder. Evan Llywelin Thomas (79) of New Moate, formerly agent to Sir Thos. Johnes, said that as far as he knew the passing of lands by the rod had ceased "about 40 years ago" (1590). He had seen lands passed by the rod in the time of John Thos. ap Harry and John ap Owen Phillips, stewards of the Lordship. He

described the process, and gave instances of the operation of the old law in the case of tenants dying intestate. His father had sold lands to one Owen Prees Parry, an infant in law, who was admitted by kissing the rod, but in a year's time O. P. Parry died, and Howell ap Harry took the lands by the rod, paying 10*s.* as "bedive or herriot" for Owen and 5*s.* for the admission of his own son. The infant in law, having died intestate without issue, the lord proceeded to take his goods, but deponent's father compounded with the lord and gave him 40 "wethers" in respect of his claim. The old law was often very cruel. Llywelyn ap Ieuan ap Rydderch, having died intestate, the lord seized his goods except a "small portion" left for the maintenance of his widow. Rees Thomas Rees ap Rees of Penboir (78) saw Harry John of Kryngae sell lands to John Rees of Penboir. At the delivery of the rod in Court, the new tenant's name was entered on the roll; but John Rees died intestate and his goods—20 cattle and 150 sheep—were seized by the lord.

By piecing together the details of the evidence given during this enquiry we can reconstruct the whole ceremony of the Court when lands were passed by the rod. All the officers were present—the steward, the recorder, the beadle, the crier, so also were the persons interested, together with their friends as witnesses. First the crier "cried"; then the freeholder, who wished to pass his land to another, ceremoniously delivered it up to the steward by putting a rod or virge into his hand, at the same time paying 10*s.* as a fine of alienation called here the gwaglaw. The steward erased the freeholder's name from the roll: he was no longer the owner of the land in question. The crier took the rod from the steward and placed it on the table. The beadle then took it up and laid it on the Court Roll. The crier "cried" again. The new tenant, whether by succession or by purchase, came forward, took the oath of fealty promising to be a faithful tenant; paid a gwabar ystyn (gwobr estyn) of 5*s.*, and made himself responsible for the payment of the chief-rent called westvaes (gwestva). The steward handed him the rod, called now gwialen ystynnol, and entered his name on the Court Roll. The entry of his name on the roll constituted his title to the land. Phillipp Havard (58), clerk, of the Town of Emlin, had been taken as a

boy by his father Lawrence Havard, then steward, to see the ceremony, and he considered the passing of land by the rod the safest tenure in the Lordship. The burgages in the town were passed in the same manner. The father of Evan Morris of Kenarth (60) held by virge "certain lands and house being a burgage in the Villedge of Emlin called Twy (Ty) yn y loan." The grandfather wished to pass this burgage to his grandson, fourth son of the deponent. Actual possession took place in this wise, which is reminiscent of a very ancient custom,—"he did cause the fire to be put out and the tenant to go out," and then put his grandson in. Evan Morris did not say that his son lit the fire afresh, which should have been done to complete the ceremony. The name of the new owner was entered on the Court Roll.

Among the interesting items of evidence are :—(1) Walter Vaughan of Llanelly (52) referred to the Records of Emlyn in the Tower. (2) Sir H. Johnes occasionally sent "to the church to desire the inhabitants to come and help him in performing carriage." (3) Tenants within the "Graeindge of Manorvorion" did suit at Emlin about 20 years ago, i.e., about 1610. (4) The new tenant to whom the rod was reached by the steward was known as the Ystynnol. Nicholas ap Rees, gent (82), Kenarth, said that the person whose name was admitted on the roll paid 21*d.*, that is, for the steward 12*d.*, the recorder 6*d.*, the beadle 2*d.*, the crier 1*d.* (5) The place-names given in the Depositions are—Penylan Vaur, Plas y Gelli Dowyll, Plas pen Kelliissa, Tythyn Aber Arad, Park y Weyn Vechan, Plas tan y bryn, also Melin tan y bryn (E. Kilrhedyn), Ffinnant, "a close of land by the brook," Tir dol y Mynach, Argoed, Llain pant y llynne, Llain bwlch y Cae bryth, Gilwen. (Excheq. Dep. 6 Ch I, Mich. No. 1, 1630.) Tyddin Park Kilgaen, Tyr y ffynnon dderw, Park and Tyddin Abergyvenny, Tyddin Keven Kamkoed yssa, Plaskoed Istree, Llain penrhiw y Gamallt—all in Llangeler. (Dep. 6 Ch 1, Hilary 3.)

(iv)

THE FISHERIES OF EMLYN UWCH CUCH.

The first reference to these fisheries is that of Giraldus who states in his Itinerary (1188) that there was a produc-

tive fishery at a place called Canarch Mawr (Bk II. iii). It is not heard of again until 1301-2 when the following grouped items appear in the Ministers' Accounts—Rents of (1) Protection Tenants and Fishermen in the Teivy, (2) of Kennarth Mill and Weir. (1) The former paid 1*s.* between 1301-1305; between 1308-1315 4*s.*; in 1316 9*s.*; between 1317-1332 8*s.*, in 1333 6*s.*; in 1390 8*s* 4*d.*; between 1411-1413 3*s.* 4*d.*, after which date the accounts are not available. In 1307 "licenses to fish during the present year" produced 4*s.*; and 8*s.* in 1327 when the fishery is entered separately. (2) Kennarth Mill and Weir brought in £3 13*s.* 4*d.* between 1302-5; from 1307 to 1316 the rent was £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, but this included the rent of the "new mill near the New Town of Emlyn."[1] Between 1331 and 1410 the returns vary. In 1409-10 the rent was only £1 6*s.* 8*d.* In the 1423-4 return (1166/12) we are told that the "farm of the river Teivy" brought in only 2*s.* 8*d.*, "so let this year because the Duke of Gloucester placed a clat across the river at his weir at Kilgerran so that the fish could not swim to the King's weir of Teivy (that is, at Cenarth) as they were accustomed to swim as of old; to the great prejudice of the King, as it was usually arrented at 60*s.* per annum." In "Letters Patent inrolled in Chancery," dated respectively 9 Feb, 9 James I, and 23 Ap, 9 James I, occur these words:—"Kennarth Melin als Melyn Kenarth and all Fisherys in Teivi within the Lordship or Manor of Emlyn . . . . yearly rent 100*s.*" "Melyn Kenarth, which last mill with the Fishery in the River of Teivi were (sic) formerly of the yearly rent of 100*s.*" These facts are interesting because the coracle-men of Cenarth still use their nets in waters which are miles beyond the reach of the tide.

(v)

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PARISH OF NEWCASTLE EMLYN.

Transcribed from the *London Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1843.

"The boundary to commence at the river Tivy, at Danywaring (Dan y Warren) in the parish of Llandyfriog, and proceed in a westerly direction along that river till

[1] This is quite clear in *Min. Acc.* 1220/3:—"Fulling Mill 13/4; Fishery 8/-; Rent of two Mills and weirs there £6 13s. 4d."

it meets a brook (the Arad) which separates the parish of Cenarth from the parish of Penboyr; and proceeds, in a southerly direction along the centre of that brook till it reaches the parish of Cilrhedyn; and then proceeds, in a westerly direction, along the boundary line separating the parish of Cenarth from the said parish of Cilrhedyn, till it meets the river Cych, along the centre of which it proceeds in a north-westerly direction as far as the road from Lan Cych to Newcastle Emlyn, up the centre of which road it proceeds, in a north-easterly direction, till it reaches Gwyddan brook; it then takes a northerly direction up (sic) the centre of that brook till it enters Tivy; and proceeds down the centre of the river Tivy in a north-westerly direction, till it meets the river Cerri, which divides the parish of Llandyfriog from the parish of Brongwyn; and proceeds, northerly, up the centre of that river till it meets the boundary line which divides the parish of Llandyfriog from the parish of Troedyraur, along which boundary line it proceeds, in an easterly direction, till it meets the parish of Llanfair-fach (Llanfair-treligen); and then proceeds along the boundary line separating that parish from the parish of Llandyfriog, in a south-easterly direction, till it meets, near Llwch yr hall Issaf, the boundary of the borough of Atpar; along which boundary it proceeds, in a southerly direction, by Blaennant to Danywaring where the boundary commenced."

(vi)

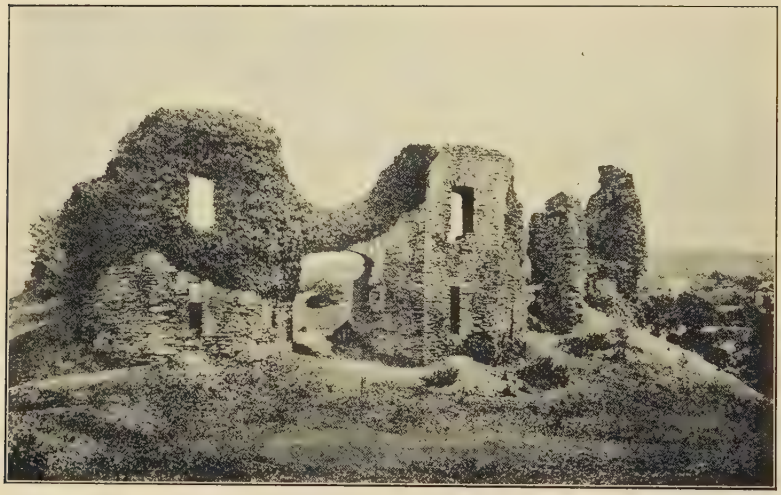
(a) "Gwynionydd" and (b) "Eilir."

As these writers are frequently referred to in these pages it were well to give here brief biographical notices of them.

(a) Born at Seilach (Penbryn) on June 24, 1821, and sprung from the family which gave us James Howell, the author of *Epistolae Hoelianae*, and Dr. Howell, Bishop of Bristol, Benjamin Williams ("Gwynionydd") was educated at Fishguard, and spent 26 years of his life as master in Madam Bevan's Circulating Schools. His interest in Church work together with his recognised literary ability moved Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, to ordain him. After serving as Curate of Cenarth he became Vicar of Tir Abad, near Llanwrtyd, and also Curate

ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS

(By courtesy of Dr. D. L. Thomas).



The Castle, Newcastle Emlyn.

The Bridge, Newcastle Emlyn.

Llandyfriog Church, Newcastle Emlyn.

Weir and Fish Pass, Newcastle Emlyn.

of Myddfai, and in this latter capacity he held services at the Half Way Schoolroom near *Brutus'* home. Settled here "Gwynionydd" was closely connected with some of the literary men whose names and activities are associated with the publishing house of "Rees of Tonn," Llandovery. Finally, he became Curate-in-charge of Llanover. Endowed with poetic and literary gifts, with a remarkable penchant for local history and folk-lore, an unflagging energy in research-work, withal a master of a vigorous and lucid style, "Gwynionydd" was for about 50 years a constant contributor to the Welsh periodicals. His knowledge of Welsh literature was so considerable that he was reckoned among the helpers of his near kinsman, D. Silvan Evans, a native of Cilrhedyn in Emlyn. Among his best known works are *Hanes Castellnewydd yn Emlyn* (1859); *Hanes Lewis Glyn Cothi a'i Weithiau* (1866); *Cyfansoddiad athronyddol enwau lleodd Cymreig yng Nghymru* (1868); *Caniadau gan Gwynionydd* (1868); *Enwogion Ceredigion* (1869); *Brialleu Glan Ceri* (1873). He died on December 9th, 1891, and was buried at Bettws Ifan.

(b) W. Eilir Evans (April 26, 1852—Dec. 7, 1910), best remembered as one of the ablest of our bilingual journalists, was born at Y Garreglwyd, Cenarth, and was brought up by a mother who stored her son's retentive memory with local folk-lore and traditions. Educated at the Emlyn Grammar School (1863-9), instructed by the Rev. Evan Phillips in the cynghaneddion, and encouraged by the Rev. John Williams who published his early poems in *Y Byd Cymreig*, Eilir soon displayed marked ability. Destined by his parents for the Independent Ministry, he was sent in 1870 to the Carmarthen Presbyterian College, but he left and took to teaching, first as master of the National School, Capel Dewi (1873-9) and later of the Pontshan Grammar School. During this period he sedulously cultivated his poetic gifts, was an ardent eisteddfodwr, and in 1878 won the chair at Cardigan. In 1879 he entered St. David's College, Lampeter, and two years later was ordained by the Bishop of Bangor. The next seven years of his life were spent in various curacies in England and Wales. Gifted with the pen of a ready and graceful writer and exceedingly well-informed especially in current history and literature, Eilir's real

work, however, was in the field of journalism. In 1889, he became editor of the *Carmarthen Journal*; in 1891, of the *Cambria Daily Leader*; in 1893 he acted on the *South Wales Daily Post* under Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams as editor. In 1894 he joined the staff of the *Western Mail* and for 13 years was leader-writer and reviewer. Contributions from his pen frequently adorned the pages of the *Guardian*, the *Llan*, the *Church Family Newspaper*, *Y Geninen*, *Yr Haul*, and other journals. With Dr. Lemuel James, he was joint author of the *Churchman's Shield*, and a collection of his works in prose and verse entitled *Rhyddiaith a Chan* appeared in 1909. He acted as Curate of Llancarvan for about two years before his death in 1910.

ADDENDA.

For an account of the last duel fought in Wales (between Beynon and Heslop) near Dan y warren in Dec., 1814, and also of the last use of stocks in Cardiganshire, viz, in Atpar, where John Foster was imprisoned for three hours in 1872, see G. Eyre Evans' *Cardiganshire and its Antiquities*, and *Walks and Wanderings in County Cardigan*, by E. R. Horsfall-Turner.

Note to p. 35. The Gwyddon—the west boundary of the old borough—has been artificially diverted into the Teifi near "Pontbren". The natural bed of the brook can be followed in the deep depressions which mark the west side of Dolbrenin.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 23, line 20, read *Henry* for *Hugh* de Ferrars.
p. 46, line 34, read *unmistakably* for *unmistakeably*.
p. 71, note 2, read *Dwnn's* for *Dwn's*.

Postscript.—The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Sir Vincent Evans, editor of the Cymmrodorion publications, for the large and patient assistance given by him during the passage of the "Story of Newcastle Emlyn and Atpar" through the press — G.E.

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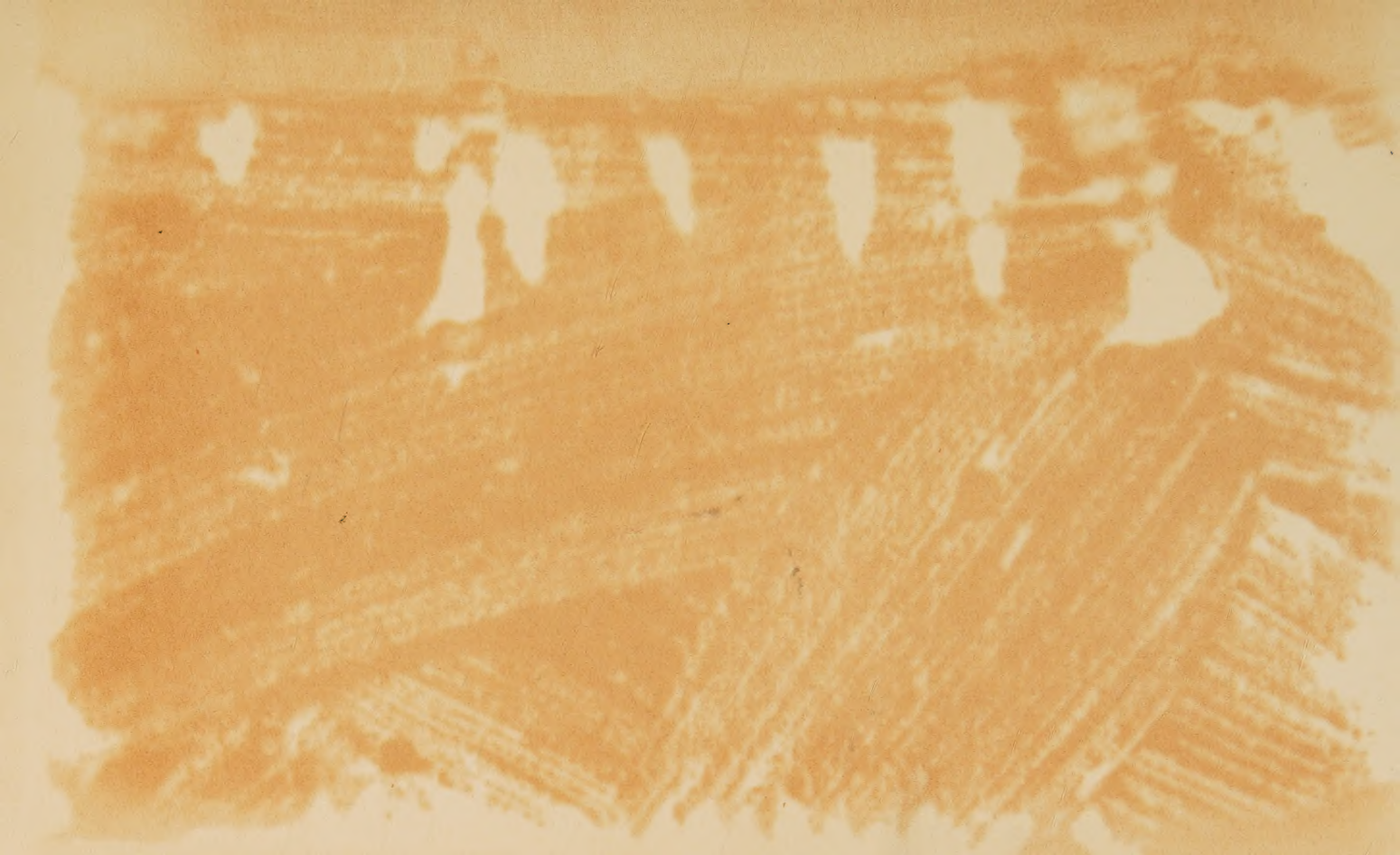
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